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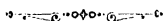
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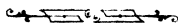


By

G. K. Naríman

AUTHOR OF

**Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism;
Iranian Influence on Moslem Literature ;
Priyadarshika, (jointly with Jackson
and Ogaden); the Religion of
the Iranian Peoples,
e t c .**



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Iranian Peoples,
e t c .

Dedicated in grateful Appreciation

TO

Sir Homi M. Mehta, Kt. J.P., M.C.S.



Sir Homi M. Mehta, Kt., J.P., M.C.S.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

In the history of the world Iran has played a dominating role and by her contact with Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, China, India, Greece, Rome and Carthage has profoundly influenced their civilisations. To the oriental and occidental students of religion, philosophy, epics, history and archaeology, Iran and the Iranians provide a delightful and absorbing life-long study. Upto now hundreds of Europeans and Asiatic scholars have published interesting volumes on Iranian history and religion and Mr. G. K. Nariman's translation of "Barthold's Iran" is a valuable addition to this literature.

The author has divided his work into five parts. The first part deals with the place of the Iranians of Iran and of the Iranian culture in the world history. The author draws our attention to the fact that the geographical conception of Iran does not coincide either with the idea of the territory occupied by the Iranian peoples as an ethnographical unit, or with the domain of influence of the Iranian culture, or yet with the spread of Persian, the Iranian literary language. King Darius in his inscription calls himself an "Aryan" and although the inhabitants of Hapta Hindu (The Kabul Valley and the Punjab) Turan and Sairima were Aryans, mostly of Iranian stock, the population of Iran dissociated itself from them. The boundaries of Iran were determined in ancient times not in ethnographical but solely in the political sense of the word by the Arsacides and the Sasanians. The author's description of the different opinions on the migrations of the Aryan races from Asia to Europe or vice versa makes very interesting reading. In his opinion all the different theories regarding the migrations of the Aryans only serve to formulate questions which require further investigations. The expeditions sent to study the remnants of the Buddhist sculptures in Chinese Turkistan by the Germans and also by the British under Sir Aurel Stein, resulted in establishing the facts of the existence in Central Asia, during the period from the first to the tenth century A. D. of different Iranian languages. This proves that long before Islam became predominant a certain cultural influence was exercised by the Iranians of Central Asia on the peoples leaving further eastward, more particularly upon Turks, and later, through the Turks and Mongols, on China

itself. Mention is made of Zoroastrian temples being erected by some representatives of the Sasanian Dynasty who lived there as refugees.

Our opinion however, is that the author has not done full justice to the importance of Zoroastrianism in world history, particularly its influence on the Median and Achaeminian Empires, although the Achaeminian Sovereigns were enthusiastic partisans of the true faith. It is difficult to reconcile ourselves with the author's attempt to prove that there was no religious unity in Iran and that the Achaemenian Government viewed the representation of the Median priesthood, the Maji as their enemies. Similarly many will differ from the author's conclusions that in course of time Zoroastrianism leaned more and more towards heathenism and that its ethical value under the Sasanians was little and that it underwent a process of purification after the victory of Islam, when it became truly monotheistic.

Gaumata was not a Mede but a Persian born at Pisyavada in Persia. His usurpation of power was not a national Median movement. He was supported by the Medians as well as by the Persians. The temples destroyed by him were not Zoroastrian temples, but the temples of his subject nations. The so-called "Massacre of the Maji" is a pure fiction and product of the Greek mind.

The Zoroastrian religion has nourished the most powerful philosophical and religious movements in the world. It brought to his followers two things, namely, moral duty and hope, which taught the Iranians to face calmly the life and fate. It helped the Iranian race in the formation of the mind and the salvation of the soul. Most of the European scholars admit the influence of the Zoroastrian religion on Judaism and through Judaism on Christianity and Mohemadanism. Several religious cults like Mithraism, Manichaeism sprang upon Iranian soil and flourished for many centuries in Central Asia and Europe. Most of the Greek philosophies were the off-springs of Zoroastrian ideas. All these were the result of the beneficent activities of the Achaeminian Iranians who were the true followers of the Iranian prophet. During the world empire of the Achaeminians many other religions, local or national, were sublimated by their contact with the highly ethical religion of Lord Zarthusra. Zoroastrianism was no doubt the state religion of the Parsi World Empire. The Achaeminian monarchs were thoroughly inspired with the high and noble tenets of this great religion.

Darius's zeal for the Zoroastrian religion is well known to the student of his immortal inscriptions, but as a result of the Iranian expedition sent by the Oriental Institute of Chicago under Dr Eric Schmidt, many inscriptions of our pious Zoroastrian Emperor Xerxes the Great have been excavated at Persepolis. These inscriptions are now translated and published in the Naft Magazine January, 1940, by Professor Herzfeld. Quotations from this inscription should convince our readers of the zeal of the pious Emperor Xerxes.

The author also describes the importance of Iranian polity in the history of the world. The creation of the Achaeminian World Empire resulted in the widening of the geographical and intellectual horizon among the cultured subjects of the Iranians. During Parthian period the national epic was formed. Also the supremacy of an Eastern State over any Western state with regard to control of the routes of the world commerce was established.

During Sasanian period Zoroastrian religion was re-established in its pristine glory. The secret texts were interpreted in the National language 'Pahlvi' and a vast literature on religion as well as on various other subjects came into existence. The Sasanian Emperors considered themselves as the rulers of the world. Victory was always with the Sasanians in every military conflict. The whole trade with India and China, both by land and sea was in their hands. They prepared the way for the ultimate civilising supremacy of the Iranians in the whole world.

The author's treatment of the influence of Iran during the Islamic period provides us with a very interesting and fascinating reading. Even during the period of national decay the role of the Iranians in the history of the world did not come to an end, but Iran continued to influence the surrounding nations, both Eastern as well as Western, by the charms and elegance of the Persian poetry, by the magic of Arabic prose and by her proficiency in the exact sciences such as mathematics, astronomy etc. Her beautiful architecture, her commercial and her religious activities and the sweetness and eloquence of her national language made her the mistress of the hearts of peoples from the coast of China to the shores of the Atlantic Ocean.

The second part of the book gives a very instructive description of geography and ethnography of Iran. The author has consulted besides the Greek and Latin classics an exhaustive list of Arabic and Persian

authors, while giving the geographical and ethnographical details of the different provinces of Iran. The author has thrown new light on many subjects not known before. The third part is very important as the author has brought to our notice vast literature and new names of Persian authors and books not known to us before. Even the versatile Edward G. Browne who spent his whole life in the service of the "Literary History of Persia" had missed many important authors and this part of the book may be safely considered as a supplementary chapter to "The Literary History of Persia". A study of Persian historiography will well pay the labours of our Parsi scholars and will positively shed more light on the glorious past of our renowned ancestors. It is high time the Parsis turned their attention to the untouched field of vast Arabic and Iranian literature.

The fourth part of this book gives a short summary of European investigation of the history of Iran and of the Iranian culture. For European historians Iran had necessarily always formed a subject of interest on account of the influence of the traditions of the ancient Iranian culture on the Muslim Iran. The Parsis are in great debt to the scholarship and laborious research work of the European and the American savants. The venerable names of Thomas Hyde, Auquetil Du Perron, Burnouf, Geigar, Sir William Jones, Malcolm, Grotefend Robinson brothers, Edw. Meyer, Gobineau, Markham, Ker Porter, Gutschmid, Christensen, Paul Horn, Herzfeld, Justi Jackson, Brown Linduer mentioned by the author in this chapter should provide an incentive to them and induce a craving for the study of their own history and religion.

In the fifth and the last part of the book the history of the Russian investigation is made known to us almost for the first time by the author. The Russians were the last among the great European nations to introduce the study of Iranian literature and languages in their country. Many provinces of ancient Persian Empire now form parts of the modern U. S. S. R. The Russian Foreign Office had sent some of her best scholars on Boundary Commissions and they have collected very important information regarding historical, geographical, archaeological, ethnographical, epigraphical and linguistical subjects. The so-called "secret" collection of geographical, topographical and statistical materials of Asia" gives a great deal of information especially as regards the economical life of Iran.

The author in concluding paras of the book expresses his hope for and shows the necessity of founding a special organ devoted to the knowledge of the East in general, and of taking into consideration the wide scope of the problems of the Iranistics, to the knowledge of the Iranian subjects in particular.

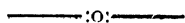
We request the Parsis to read this entertaining and instructive volume which is full of valuable and interesting information on Iranian subjects and to get the other works of the author translated into English .

We are indebted to the late Mr. B. J. Sanjana, the author of "Ancient Persia and the Parsis" from which book we have drawn copiously and which is an instructive work on the general Parsi History, worth a translation into Gujrati.

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LIFE SKETCH OF G. K. NARIMAN.



Of the few writers who have attained international repute and yet who were misunderstood by their own people, G. K. Nariman was one, who in advance of his time spoke and wrote in a manner which to many of his contemporaries seemed unacceptable. Steeped in knowledge of Persian, Sanskrit, Pali, Arabic, Zend, German, Russian and other languages, the versatile genius of the late G. K. Nariman covered many fields in literature, ancient history, modern politics and other spheres of not only national but international activities. The following pages contain only a part of his works, which give the reader a true insight into the philosophy of life of the author, of his interest in bewilderingly diverse subjects, his scholarly research in ancient Iranian History, particularly of the Parsis—a sphere in which he has been most misunderstood—and convey to the reader a true pen-picture of G. K. Nariman the author, historian, critic and philosopher. As a critic said of Edmund Burke, he will be more read and appreciated in the next twenty years than he has been in the past eighty. Some day the writings of this great scholar would be similarly appreciated. To-day, this is but a small effort to reproduce what G. K. Nariman wrote. But he always wrote with such a convincing earnestness that his works bear the stamp as much of his sincerity as of erudition, unostentatious as both these in his life had been.

The late G. K. Nariman had a chequered career. He was born in August 1873, tracing his descent from a long line of illustrious ancestors, though in his life-time he ridiculed the fad of tracing genealogy upto the umpteenth ancestor. But certain it is he descended from the famous Mulla Firoze, one of the great Hight Priests who did so much for the preservation of Zoroastrianism in Gujrat and for propagation of its ideals. A lineal descendant of this Mulla Firoze was one Dastur Kaikhusroo who died in 1869, leaving his son Dastoor Noshirwanji behind him. This illustrious personage was a scholar of Persian Avesta and Pahlavi and his services were requisitioned by the East India Co., during the days of the Great Mutiny as a translator. Dastoor Nashirwanji had a daughter named Khorshedbai, who was married to the late Col. Nariman one of the earliest Parsi members of the I. M. S. and father of G. K. Nariman. Col. Nariman had an illustrious career as an officer in the army. He

served in the Afghan War in 1880, and in the Burmese War in 1886, where he was present at several engagements, *viz.*, Bauline, Thyatbin, Shevada, Injangan, Awnee, etc., and on one occasion when other combatant officers were wounded, Col. Nariman had the unique distinction of being in charge of a convoy in joint capacity of both medical and combatant officer. As a civil officer he was equally popular. When the Government contemplated his transfer from Surat as Civil Surgeon, the public sent a memorial praying for his retention there.

G. K. Nariman had thus the advantage of high family traditions and good training in earlier years of his life. After his school career he joined the Elphinstone College, where his linguistic talents gave ample proof of a brilliant career that was to be his. In 1902, he was appointed Translator in the Chief Court of Rangoon. It was during this appointment that G. K. Nariman cultivated a taste for Pali and pursued further his researches in Arabic and Sanskrit. On the out-break of the Great War he returned to Bombay, and held the post of Assistant Censor of foreign communications pouring into India through this city. Here his profound knowledge of languages stood him in good stead. Russian, German and French correspondence passed through his hands. This occupation though one for which he was best fitted by his talents, left him little time for his other pursuits. But his industry was great and he devoured in spare hours a mass of ancient literature which no scholar had so far cared to pry into.

In the meantime he built up connections with newspapers in India, in the Middle East and in Europe. His contributions on ancient Persian history, both of the Parsis and early Islam, to the press in India were widely appreciated. "G. K. N." the pen-name under which he wrote, observed Mr. B. G. Horniman, on the death of the author "became the hall-mark of scholarly contributions to newspapers." Besides newspapers he contributed to numerous journals. In all cases he made it a point to carry out intensive research work before sending his material to the press. His works on historical topics such as collected in the pages that follow, bear on almost every page traces of hard labour and genuine love for truth. His researches into almost impenetrable sources brought him amazing discoveries. And when any such was made, he never hesitated for fear of incurring popular displeasure to announce blunt truth from the house-top, however unpalatable it might be. For instance it was G. K. Nariman who was the first historian to declare that the conversion of Zoroastrian and

the exodus from Iran 'for sake of religion dearer than life'—as it is customary to put it—were not the consequences of coercion or oppression of the Arabs. His theory has been that secular motives coupled with neglect not only supplied enough force for conversion but was also responsible for destruction of a large part of our sacred books. He advances incontrovertible arguments and evidence in support of that historical fact. It is for one to accept or reject such theory after perusal of the writings under the head of "Parsis and Early Islam," but this incident is quoted to portray how the author with a fidelity to scholarship and historic truth had the courage of his convictions to shatter theories around which Parsis had clustered many fond, though unfounded beliefs.

His blunt exposition of historical facts however did not detract from his abounding love for Iran, as the ancient Motherland of the Parsis and he devoted the prime of his life to creation of cordial relations between Muslims and Persian Zoroastrians in Iran on the one hand and the Parsi community on the other. To this end, he helped to found the Iran League, an institution which to-day has come to be regarded as the repository of every information or movement connected with Iran. In collaboration with Sir Hormusji Adenwala, Mr. Dinsha Irani and others, he laid the foundation of the League and helped it through its nascent and most critical periods of existence. For years he remained its vice-President and due to his personal exertion and influence the League acquired the status it commands to day both in Iran and India. He founded a journal of the League and for some years edited it. In later period of his association with the League the late G. K. Nariman could not agree with the principles of his colleagues and the difference became irreconcilable and he resigned. It is a matter of gratification that to-day the work initiated and nurtured by him progresses satisfactorily and the League has become an important medium in establishing greater harmony between the two communities in Iran and India.

Of the literary activities of G. K. N. a few of his prominent works deserve mention in some detail. In 1912, appeared a translation of "The Religion of the Iranian People" by C. P. Tiele, to which were annexed Darmesteter's Sketch of "Persia," and Goldziher's "Influence of Parsism on Islam." This work has an importance of its own, shedding as it does new light on the sources of the Mazdayasnian religion. The age of Avesta, its component, early history of Zoroastrian Religion, the causes of diversity of the Indian and Iranian religions despite their common

origin, the concept of Mazda Ahura. His satellites and the Doctrine of Dualism are a few of the fascinating subjects discussed in this magnificent work. In his preface the late G. K. N. wrote "The great value of the work of Tiele is centred in sound brevity. Just as he has written no sentence for which there is not ample warrant, so also there is not a superfluous paragraph....Dr. Tiele was anxious to see his book read by the Parsis and the main portion of the book is in the first instance intended for our community. And it is produced before them with some confidence." This work of G. K. N. immediately singled him out as a linguist of exceptional ability.

Six years later, G. K. N. translated from the Russian of M. Inostranzev the "Iranian Influence on Muslim Literature," with supplementary appendices from Arabic sources. This work is in part a vindication of the theory which G. K. N. put forward that Iranian thought and Iranian culture had influenced mediæval Islamic literature and that the extermination of the Parsis from Persia and the destruction of a large part of their religious scriptures were in no measure due to the tyranny and intolerance of the Arab conquerors. G. K. N. observes in this work "it has been credited with uncritical alacrity, congenial to self complacency that the Arabs so utterly and ruthlessly annihilated the civilization of Iran in its mental and material aspects that no source whatever is left from which to bring reliable information about Zoroastrian Iran. The following limited pages are devoted to a disproof of this age-long error." One need hardly observe that to-day barring a few die-hards no student of ancient history of Iran seriously countenances the story of Arab tyranny and intolerance wiping the ancient Zoroastrian culture out of existence. In so far as G. K. N. removed this misconception he helped to pave way for a better understanding between Muslims and Parsis. Incidentally it might be noted that the 'Iranian Influence on Muslim Literature' is the first book translated by an Indian author from Russian. Its publication confirmed G. K. Nariman's reputation as a profound and scholarly Orientalist who did not shirk the most abstruse and difficult sources in relentless search after historical truth and precision. It is a sad reflection, however, that G. K. N. paid the price of brushing aside conventions. He was looked upon as a pro-Moslem and as one indifferent to the interests of his own religion. Nothing would have been remoter from this reckless suggestion. The very love he bore for his community induced him to devote his entire life to a study of Zoroastrianism and to researches from Armenian, Russian and other sources still untouched by many a savant and orientalist.

Two years after the publication of "Iranian Influence on Moslem Literature", another momentous work of G. K. Nariman made its appearance. It was the "Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism" a work which is regarded to-day as authoritative pronouncement on the various subjects it deals with, and ranks equal to some of the Brahmanic texts of history of Sanskrit literature. This work of G. K. N. is a beautiful elucidation of historical data comprising the Buddhist literature surviving in Sanskrit and marshals available sources of study of this subject within a handy compass. The publication was hailed as a great scholarly attainment by most eminent authors, scholars and public men of the day. His Majesty, the King of Siam, the Mahendra Maharaja of Panna, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore to whom this work was dedicated, His Highness the Aga Khan, Dr. Moonje and Dr. Narendra Nath Law spoke of the work in highly appreciative terms. This publication revealed an amazing mastery of G. K. N. over this ancient language. The works in original to which he referred with the object of imparting accuracy to his transcription were seldom touched by previous writers. Incidentally the publication exploded a malicious charge often indiscriminately levelled against him, that he was pro-Moslem, even to the extent of being indifferent to his own religion and religious traditions. The fact was that G. K. N. studied the major religions with the devotion of a scholar, with a passion for research that was singularly his. In doing so he often tripped over discoveries which clashed with popular beliefs. In face of overwhelming evidence to the contrary, he could scarcely as a scholar conceal historic facts, even though he realised fully the penalty he had to pay for brushing aside fond popular beliefs.

In 1923, the Columbia University Press, New York, published "Priyadarsika"—a drama written in Sanskrit and Prakrit by Harsa, King of Northern India in the 7th century. G. K. N. prepared a tentative translation and forwarded it for scrutiny to Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson, who was so inspired with the effort that he actually introduced the "Priyadarsika" as a part of his classes at Columbia. In the prefatory note of this work, which was undertaken in collaboration with Prof. Williams Jackson and Dr. Charles J. Ogden, the former wrote, "The basis of the translation was a preliminary version submitted a number of years ago by my Parsi friend Gustaspshah Kaikhusroo Nariman of Bombay, who sent it to me in a tentative form for later revision and editing before its inclusion in the Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series. This led me to take up

the *Prīyadarsika* with my classes at Columbia, and I have read the drama several times with them, writing out also a translation of my own."

Among other literary works of G. K. Nariman must be mentioned this book, an English translation of "Barthold's Iran," a Russian Work. It deals with the place of Iranian culture in the history of the world; the geography and ethnography of Iran; the historical literature available and access of European scholars to it. Its chief value lies in a detailed mention of some of the important Russian researches throwing light on ancient history and culture of Iran, which on account of the difficulty of the language were practically left unexplored. This literary excursion of G. K. N. in the domain of Russian literature has opened up a vast vista of research to scholars of Iranian studies.

Besides these works G. K. N. wrote many tracts on diverse subjects, largely, though not exclusively, on Iranian topics. The pages that follow bear testimony to only a few of these. A vast heap of material still remains to be sifted and made public property. "Sassanian Civilization" was published in 1918-1919 in the Journals of the Iranian Association so ably edited by Prof. P. A. Wadia, himself a keen student of ancient Iranian history and culture. The Sassanian Festival of the Spring saw light for the first time last year. A few of his writings appeared in some newspapers or the other. Writings of G. K. N. a posthumous publication brings within a handy compass the scattered and the unpublished works which are well worth the trouble of preservation.

However the prolific genius of G. K. N. was not confined to studies pertaining to history and culture of ancient Iran. Politics and current events in India equally interested him. He took an active part in several activities and the Government of India appreciating the versatility of his linguistic abilities set him to important missions. He was deputed by the Government of Lord Chelmsford to investigate into the causes of the Mopla Riots which created such a profound stir in the whole of the country. Mr. Nariman handled that delicate task with the efficiency of a seasoned statesman and his masterly report on that unhappy phase of history produced in the country a profound impression. During this period he was closely associated with Lord Willingdon, who was then the Governor of Madras, and that association ripened into a personal friendship retained by G. K. N. till his death. Of the many persons who spoke with regret on his death, Lord Willingdon, then Viceroy of India, was one.

G. K. N. was also deputed by the Government to make an investigation of the perennial Frontier problem, to trace the causes and make a report on the seasonal recrudescence of hostilities in that region. He critically studied the conditions and made a comprehensive survey of Frontier conditions in his report. One main fact he boldly asserted. The defence expenditure was out of all proportions to the requirements of the Frontier and the purse of a poor country like India.

In politics G. K. N. held independent views and bore no allegiance to any political organization in particular. His political philosophy may be summed up in one phrase 'each question on its merits' While in politico-economic problems, he exhibited a national outlook, he never endorsed views on current topics of the day simply because the 'big guns' in politics held such views. He ridiculed Prohibition at a time when liquor shops were being picketed by the Congress and a mass hysteria swept over a section of the people. While all country boycotted the Simon Commission on the ground of failure of the British Government to associate Indians with that Statutory Enquiry, G. K. Nariman candidly said that he felt that the policy of boycott was a great mistake. He did not believe in the Civil Disobedience movement and opined that it was bound to undermine respect for law and order and make Government difficult without taking India nearer to Swaraj. And yet he was an able exponent of India's political aspirations.

His attitude towards religion and religious controversies was free from sentimentalism or fanaticism with which various religious controversies were associated. In the famous Bella case he took a prominent part. The Parsi community of Rangoon presented him with a beautiful silver shield which bore the significant inscription "This shield is presented to Gustasp K. Nariman, Esq., as a token of high appreciation of his invaluable services rendered and great personal sacrifices made in the defence of Parsi communal interests during the Juddin controversy of 1914, by his Parsi co-religionists of Rangoon, opposed to the admission of aliens into their fold." In more recent times, he spoke and wrote on religious subjects strictly from the point of view of religious scriptures. In all he said and wrote, he adhered to truth and truth alone. In doing so he came into conflict with various types of vested interests, the priest-craft in particular. He wrote not against Zoroastrian rites, as has been often misrepresented by his critics from sinister motives, as against accretions unsanctioned by Zoroaster, which grew round the real kernel of religious

rites. His aim was to enlighten the laity, not well-versed in scriptures, to induce it to revert to simpler, purer pristine form of Zoroaster's religion. He repeatedly pointed out that the obsequies and other religious ceremonies performed from the day of a Parsi's death to the first anniversary, and often much later were not intended by Zoroaster to be so complicated or costly. He once wrote "One of the causes of the downfall of Zoroastrian monarchy of the Sassanians was the bigotry of the Mobeds. They had made Zoroastrian religion impossible to practice. The ceremonies had exceeded all reasonable bounds. If we look at the prayers alone we are amazed at their variety, and if they were all compulsory, life would be a burden." He also spoke on the custom of using cow's urine with a singularly free mind. He pointed out the defects of the Yeshts and the grosser concepts they exhibited. But nothing was remoter from his mind in this self-imposed labour of love than to hurt the sentiments of his co-religionists. He approached the religious controversies as a surgeon approaches a patient for a surgical operation—to remove the atrophy and preserve all that is sound. In the "Writings of G. K. N." a critical reader may see this attitude revealed over and over again, if he has developed the art of reading between the lines.

No account of G. K. N.'s life, however cursory, would be complete without reference to his relations with Iran. During the last twenty-two years of his life he ceaselessly strove to promote a friendly intercourse between Parsis in Bombay and the Zoroastrian and the Mahomedan communities in Persia. The story of the founding of the Iran League has already been narrated in preceding paragraphs. But his love for Iran did not prevent him from perceiving hard, cold, unpalatable facts. When a section of the Parsi community began to make fetish of Parsis' past associations with Iran, he felt constrained to place the blunt truth before the community. During the post-war period a tendency developed among the Parsis to pour Parsi money indiscriminately into Persia. Whether it was flood or earthquake calamity, Parsi money went to relieve the distress. Often the generosity was misplaced and only a fraction of the charity reached the suffering populace. G. K. N. pointed out this misplaced charity. Then a campaign was started in the Parsi community in Bombay that economically and commercially Persia offered "good field for Parsi capital." It was also stated without due care that the Shah was inclined to grant concessions to the Parsi community if some of its leaders undertook to start commercial enterprises there. G. K. N. thought it his duty to warn his community against exaggerated notions of concessions and

commercial possibilities, pointing to the community the exchange restrictions which were then newly enacted in Iran. The main object of G. K. N. in doing this was not to prevent commercial development through the instrumentality of Parsi capital and enterprise but to suggest caution. His suggestions were misunderstood and he was much criticised. The subsequent events have however, proved what G. K. N. in his life-time strove in vain to convey.

G. K. Nariman leaves behind him three surviving brothers. Dr. Bahadur K. Nariman, an M. B. C. M. and B. Sc. of Edinborough University, who has served as the Chief Medical Officer on the Bhavnagar-Gondal-Jamnagar-Porbunder Railway. He also served as the only Parsi Medical Officer in West Africa on the Gold Coast Government Railways. The distinction is in a way not singular, for Parsi commercial enterprise—even if it be in the shape of Manekji Punjiaji's 'Chutney'—is not unknown in this remote part of the Dark Continent. Another brother Prof. Rustom K. Nariman is an M.I.C.E., I.S.E., and an Associate, Cooper's Hill, being one of the first few Parsis to secure the distinction of membership of the Institute of Civil Engineers and one of the six Parsi Coopers Hillman. He was elected a Delegate to the World Engineering Congress at Tokyo in 1929; a Delegate to the Institution of Engineers (Australia) Celebrations at Melbourne, while in 1933 was deputed as a representative on the "International Congress on Large Dams" held in Scandinavia. He is also a Member of American Society of Civil Engineers and the only Parsi member of Engineers' Institution of Canada. The youngest, Major J. K. Nariman, a retired I.M.S., saw war-service from 1914 right to the conclusion of the Peace Treaties. He is perhaps the only Parsi who served at Neuve Chappelle, Loos, Le Basse, Festubert and other fronts in addition to active service in British Somaliland, Egypt, Palestine and Syria.

In March 1933, G. K. N. was prostrated with illness from which he never recovered. On April 4, 1933, the end came peacefully, as that of a man who had known all through his life that his career was a sacred Trust to be administered for the benefit of his co-religionists, and had discharged that Trust well with a profound sense of responsibility towards his Creator. His loss was universally felt. Newspapers, even those which had been critical of his some activity or other paid a spontaneous tribute to his qualities and appreciated his substantial contribution to the cause of religious studies. The recognition was not local or confined to those of his community. The 'Islamic Culture' so ably edited by the late Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall,

himself a scholar of no mean repute, wrote, "While going to the Press we have received the sad news of the death of Mr. G. K. Nariman, who always described himself as a fearless seeker after truth and fully justified that claim by his researches. His loss will be felt by Orientalists all over the world." Foreign papers and periodicals spoke in like vein. To the Parsi community this loss was irreplaceable. The *Jam-e-Jamshed* paid to the memory of the deceased a glorious tribute such has been the lot of only a very few scholars to earn.

Thus ended a unique career, in prime of its scholarly activities. The memory of this departed scholar has been aptly perpetuated by his surviving brothers in the shape of the Nariman Home for the aged, decrepit invalids and incurables, established at Surat, largely from the estate of the deceased, supplemented substantially by contributions of the brothers. A Trust Fund with a corpus of about Rs. 1,00,000 has been created and the Institution handed over to the Parsi Panchayat of Surat for administration. The object of this Institution is to receive the aged, poor, decrepit and ailing persons, suffering from some chronic incurable infirmity and to house them, feed them, clothe them and give them free medical relief. It is the only Institution of its kind among the Parsis which affords shelter, sustenance and medical aid free to those who have none to depend on. The purpose of the Trust is to do its best to make the path of life of those wretched creatures easier so that their last short journey to the grave may be free from those terrible ordeals which have thrown them on the streets or crippled them beyond repair.

To the memory of one who always believed in helping the lame dog over the stile, who always believed in the principle that "What you do unto least of these you do unto Me" there could not have been erected a more appropriate monument than this Institution, which carries on unbroken the main mission of his life.

LIFE SKETCH OF SIR H. M. MEHTA.



Among the many captains of Industry who have contributed signally to the industrial progress of this country, the name of Sir Homi stands high in the list of makers of modern industrial India; like many of them Sir Homi is a self-made man, having started his career on a modest scale. The sketch of this individual's life is a typical illustration of an undaunted, determined individual fighting his way against tremendous odds and emerging successfully after an arduous contest: as such, a short biography of this unique personality is a source of inspiration to the rising generation.

In April of 1871, Sir Homi was born in a family with good traditions but poor bank balance. He neither had the advantages that go with the proverbial "Silver Spoon" nor the social influence which accompanies usually that accident of birth. But Sir Homi had one advantage. His parents, even in those dim distant eighties, appreciated the fact that culture and home education were as important as, if not more, than academic qualifications. Sir Homi received an early home training, which formed the basis of those sterling qualities which he was destined, later in life, to display. From early childhood there was ingrained in him the quality of industry. He was taught never to shirk labour. That is his attribute and main secret of his success even to-day. While at work his whole self is engrossed in work, though he can now command services of others to relieve him of business worries.

Sir Homi's parents could not afford the luxury of higher education for their son. They perhaps believed in his early employment in avocations of prospect. Sir Homi had the benefit of usual School education and at the early age of 17, he started his career as an assistant in the Bombay Mint. A famous American once said "I was born in Minneapolis; but Minneapolis was too small for me". The Mint proved too small for Sir Homi. He realized that if he meant to climb higher in life, he had to aim higher. So he joined the China Mills Limited.

It was in this Company that Sir Homi first learned the basic facts about the textile industry. In those early nineties, textile industry was in its infancy. The tremendous industrial progress we witness to-day was not even foreseen by the then businessmen. Sir Homi Mehta had shrewd

business acumen, rather a business precocity for a youth of twenty-five. He realised that the textile industry had a tremendous prospect, that it was bound to emerge as an essential 'Key' industry of national importance. Even in that dim past, he appreciated, that this industrial revolution was silently but steadily transforming industrial economy of this country. He knew that expansion and progress in the textile industry would bring in its train a huge demand for mill machinery.

The realisation of this induced in him an unshakeable faith in the future of the Indian Textile industry. In 1896 he started business on his own account under the name and style of "The Mill Stores Trading Co., of India Ltd." with H. M. Mehta & Co., as their Managing Agents. It was a bold decision for a youth of 25 to make, especially for one who had no financial resources to fall back on in event of a reverse. But the business instinct of Sir Homi was unquestionably correct. That firm continued to flourish, it flourishes to-day. The name of Messrs. H. M. Mehta & Co., to-day stands in the industrial sphere in this country, as a hall-mark of business ability, financial integrity and progress in industry. The firm has numerous well-established connections both in India and abroad. It has imported by now mill stores and machinery running into crores of rupees. The numerous textile mills whose chimneys smoke in the Parel Mill area, depend to-day not merely for the supply of their stores but also for advice on this firm.

Within a few years of the establishment of "The Mill Stores Trading Co., of India Ltd.," Sir Homi had made an indelible mark in the industrial life of the Province as a man with exceptional business acumen. His collaboration was eagerly sought by prominent industrialists and he received innumerable offers of partnership. Within eight years of the establishment of his firm, its financial position was so robust that Sir Homi could purchase Victoria Mills in 1904 in partnership with the then industrial magnate, Seth Mangaldas G. Parek. Sir Homi was thus a Millowner at the young age of 33 having started his career without any of the advantages that birth in a rich family usually brings. But this was a mere beginning. His contribution since this date to the industrial progress had an increasing momentum.

In 1912 he floated the Zenith Life Assurance Co., Ltd., So accustomed are we to the progress made by Insurance Companies at the present day that we take development of insurance in India as a matter of course. But things were radically different in 1912, Insurance was a

little understood subject, less studied by businessmen, while the insurance habit in the people was next to nil. Floating an Insurance Company in those days amidst unfavourable environments was no easy task. But here again the business acumen of Sir Homi asserted itself. He foresaw great possibilities in insurance business. He felt that with industrial advancement of India, insurance was bound to come into its own. In those days there were foreign Insurance Companies with tremendous advantages of capital and long standing. Competition with these firms was no small matter. Yet Sir Homi was successful in floating the Zenith Life Assurance Co. This indigenous enterprise received a warm welcome and unprecedented support from the public. With the successful launching of this enterprise the name of Sir Homi Mehta stood high as one of the captains of industry.

The outbreak of the Great War sent a wave of prosperity to India. This country on the whole profited by the war commercially, since raw product was in great demand for war purposes and commanded a level of prices unprecedented in India. This addition to the national wealth of the country led to a spurt of industrial activity in India during the post-war period. India experienced an industrial awakening, on an extensive scale due to the dislocation and destruction of plant and machinery on the Continent. In this post-war period Sir Homi diverted his business genius to creation of numerous industrial concerns. In the year 1919, largely through his initiative and enterprise the Jubilee Mills Co. was floated. The same year saw Raja Goculdas Mills Ltd., and M. T. Ltd. come into existence solely due to Sir Homi's initiative. Not only textile concerns sprang up under his able guidance but Insurance and other industries received a fillip through him. He helped to found the British India General Insurance Co., Ltd., while Messrs. T. R. Pratt (Bombay) Ltd., owe their existence largely to him.

The same feverish business activity that marked 1919 also characterised the year 1920. The Northern India Portland Cement Co. Ltd., and the New Electric Totalisator Co., Ltd., and the Poona Electric Supply Co. Ltd., were floated through efforts of Sir Homi early in 1920. This year also saw extension of his own business by the creation of a separate Cotton Department necessitated largely by the vast administration of the textile industry that was springing up. Two years later the Uganda Cotton Co., was floated. The business activities of Sir Homi in these two eventful years alone provided employment to thousands of workers. At a time when the cessation of war purchases by Britain

and the Allies was throwing the menace of unemployment in the forefront in this country Sir Homi's initiative and driving powers enlarged avenues of employment, mitigating in the Bombay City in particular, the evils of unemployment that might have been calamitous.

Even in 1929, the year that saw the tremendous financial crisis and from the after-effects of which we have not yet completely recovered, Sir Homi floated the Gackwar Mills Ltd. In 1930 and 1931 he turned his attention to electricity supply undertakings. The people of Nasik-Deolali and Nadiad owe to him the amenities of electric light and power which he has made available to them. The effect of 1929 crisis was most acutely felt in 1931, a year in which political upheaval synchronized with great economic setback. Confidence in trade and commerce was rudely shattered. Investors were scared. Many business houses suffered and failed to weather the rough economic gale. While no industrial enterprise was immune from the terrible effects of this crisis, be it be said to the credit of this veteran industrialist that the concerns under his management weathered the gale with least dislocation and adverse effects. If in the quinquennium that followed 1931, Sir Homi did not venture into new industrial fields it was largely due to the fact that he gauged the temper of the investing public well; and felt that while world conditions were unstable it would be inadvisable to divert flow of capital to new undertakings. However in 1936 seizing the favourable opportunity created by the revival of trade Sir Homi floated the Navsari Cotton and Silk Mills Ltd. To-day this is a prosperous concern with a fair promise of bigger success.

Sir Homi ranks thus as one of the biggest employers of labour, an industrialist whose contributions to the unemployment problem have been substantial. Though a capitalist, he never lost sight of the fact that in production the Labour factor was as essential as the Capital. Consequently he exerted to see that at least in the Mills and concerns under his control Labour got its due. He managed to have a contented staff of operatives and that is one of the secrets of his business success. His motto was "Fair deal for the under-dog"

Sir Homi's widespread activities in the industrial field did not preclude his participation in active political life of the country. In 1930 Mr. Ratansey Morarji's seat in the Council of State fell vacant and Sir Homi contested a by-election for it from the Bombay non-Muhammedan constituency. From the start his success was assured. He had

made his mark on the public by 1930 and the electorate voted for him solidly. A contest for a seat on the Council of State is never a fluke affair. The electorate is select and exceptionally intelligent. There is no chance of a candidate fooling his electorate. Sir Homi's abilities were carefully weighed and he was returned to the Upper Chamber.

In 1931, however there was a general election and Sir Homi was once again returned to the House of Elders. He very soon showed that he was no back-bencher at all. His business acumen and grasp of the legislative procedure coupled with an ability to digest details soon marked him out as a level-headed politician. In the very next year, in 1932, a Committee was appointed for delimitation of the boundaries of Bihar-Orissa for reconstitution of the new province of Orissa, in accordance with the natural, linguistic and cultural unity of the Oriyyas. Sir Homi's services were requisitioned on this body.

The year 1933 brought to Sir Homi the appreciation that had been long due to him. He was knighted. The universal tribute which the Indian Press paid to him on the occasion was remarkable. Even those newspapers which differed from his political views had the magnanimity of admitting that his elevation was rather belated recognition of merits in a man who had done so much for the cause of industrial development of India.

The same year saw his appointment on the Committees of the Reserve Bank and the Imperial Bank of India. This was a singular tribute to the financial astuteness of Sir Homi, who knew the pulse of the financial world well.

By now Sir Homi's services were requisitioned everywhere, where problems needed careful thought and sound statesmanship. In 1933 he was appointed by the Government of India as a substitute Delegate to the League of Nations. This was an appointment of considerable importance. Even since the economic depression nations were busy devising ways and means to reduce unemployment. These efforts were reflected in attempts of nations to commit the League to a policy of shorter hours. While not opposed to the aspirations of Labour Sir Homi showed that such a policy was not suited to the state of industrial development India was in. On the League of Nations Committees Sir Homi proved quite as versatile as in the Indian Legislature.

In 1934 once again it fell to the lot of Sir Homi to be appointed a Delegate to the League. At this stage the League's finances were in a mess. There were nations which though not insolvent were in arrears of their contributions. The League's budget had to be balanced and ways and means had to be found to attain this object. Various Committees were appointed and Sir Homi was invited to serve on the Fourth Committee. Here too he brought to bear on the problems his singular financial abilities. Later on he was elected as Rapporteur of the Committee.

In the same year on his return to India Sir Homi was elected Director of the Reserve Bank of India. The Reserve Bank as is now constituted has been deliberately designed to keep finances of the country above political considerations. Sir Homi resigned his seat on the Council of State to accept this new appointment. It is to the genius of businessmen such as Sir Homi that this institution owes its prestige as a most reliable custodian of nation's currency and credit structure.

In 1935 Sir Homi was elected Chairman of the Reception Committee of the All-India Insurance Conference. At this time the Insurance law was about to undergo drastic changes. The Government of India had decided to re-model the Insurance Act and the Conference had to undertake serious responsible work. Sir Homi's speech at this Conference indicated the difficulties which beset the path of Indian Insurance business and suggested measures for placing indigenous Insurance on a sound footing. To him is largely due the success which Insurance firms obtained in revision of Insurance Act in their favour.

In 1936, Sir Homi was once again marked out for service in international sphere. He was appointed as Employers' Delegate to the International Labour Conference at Geneva. Sir Homi's task was full of responsibilities. By now most of the nations had become insistent on the 40-hour week. France in her effort to solve the unemployment problem had adopted the 40-hour week while U. S. A. was in favour of similar move. In India totally different conditions prevailed and Sir Homi had to convince the Conference that such heroic remedies were not suited to Indian conditions. His argument was that an effort to force pace in reduction of working hours might result in such an increase in the cost of production, that the Indian manufacturer, particularly in the textile industry would be beaten by foreign competi-

tion. He was right in his calculations for Japan at this time was dumping her manufactures on Indian markets. She could afford to do this as she was working in total disregard of international conventions on Labour. Thanks to his efforts India was saved from another industrial crisis, which acceptance of 40-hour week would have brought to the textile industry. His views were confirmed by the Government of India which declined to be a party to any 40-hour week convention on the ground that conditions in Indian industries were radically different from those prevailing in highly industrialised countries in the West.

With all these bewilderingly multifarious public activities Sir Homi was not negligent towards the interest of the Parsi Community. Whenever his advice and assistance were sought in a cause which affected the well-being of the Parsis, he zealously and devotedly offered his help. One instance is particularly remarkable. In March 1938 a movement was set on foot to educate the Parsi Community in measures relating to their protection from air raids in event of a War. Sir Homi was approached in this matter and readily consented to do all in his power to assist and promote a movement of such vital importance to the Parsi community. Meetings were held at his Office over which he presided and helped the A. R. P. movement to assume concrete shape.

Similarly in the cause of Parsi charity and education Sir Homi was ever alert. Several Parsi educational institutions received financial aid from him and on Committees of many he figured as a member or chairman. Not merely educational institutions but individuals were privately assisted. Having risen from the lowest rung of the ladder himself, Sir Homi had a soft corner for the poor Parsi youth struggling his way upward. He knew what struggle for existence meant and once convinced that a youth deserved a lift, he was never found backward in assisting appropriate cases. To his munificence many a Parsi youth owes his rise in life. Some have risen to be Indian Civil Servants, others Air Pilots, Ground Engineers, Accountants or legal or medical practitioners. Nevertheless Sir Homi never was ostentatious in the display of his good deeds. He had a predilection for the educated youth and that was enough inducement to him to bring out the best in a young aspirant.

Sir Homi though a businessman of repute found ample time for sporting activities. Since his very youth he took a keen interest in Boxing and Cricket. His interest in Cricket is as great as ever and his contribution to the cause of this game is well known. He sent a

a team on tour from Bombay on one occasion. To the Northern India Cricket Touring Team which played at Delhi in the presence of His Excellency the Viceroy, he presented a Trophy. This Team was singularly successful in 1930-31 season when it annexed the Captain Sassoon Cup. At present Sir Homi is on the Board of the Cricket Club of India.

In private life and in relation to his fellowmen Sir Homi refreshingly amiable. It might be presumed that an individual who had attained success in business might be too tied down to the cares and worries of business to be jovial. Sir Homi's one trait is his remarkable sense of humour. He is jovial, enjoys cracking jokes and can indulge in a hearty laugh when one is turned against himself. Though a strict disciplinarian, when in mood for sport and off his work, he makes a delightful companion. That is the secret of the tremendous popularity he enjoys both among his staff and his vast circle of friends.

Apart from his sense of humour, Sir Homi has a genial and affable temper and a kind and sympathetic temperament. The fact of his social status never deterred him from mingling with the poorest where occasion demanded it. This is due to the fact that in early life he had put in a hard struggle and knew consequently the value of understanding and sympathy to the man in need. His dealings with the staff were marked with similar understanding though often his exterior presented a stern unapproachable form. Sir Homi is a quaint mixture of level-headed shrewd businessman with a soft corner in his heart for every struggling under-dog.

A businessman, sportsman, well-known in the public life of the country and respected by his numerous friends, Sir Homi to day, at the fairly advanced age of 68 immerses himself in his preoccupations with unabated vigour. A steady moderate life with fair amount of work and periodic recreations has kept up his physique in a sound condition notwithstanding the strain that modern hectic business life imposes on one.

Sir Homi has made success of his life in the real sense of the word, success measured in terms of his contribution to the economic well-being of the Province, to the promotion of industrialisation and national prosperity. Some distant day when some Historian undertakes to compile an industrial history of the Bombay Province, the name of Sir Homi Mehta will figure in the list of modern Makers of Industrial Bombay, along with the Tatas, the Readymoneys and the Adenwallas.

BARHTOLD'S

I R A N

BY

G. K. Nariman.

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 - II. Geography and ethnography of Iran.**
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Barthold's Iran.

In compiling a historical sketch of Iran, one must bear in mind that the geographical conception of Iran does not coincide either with the idea or the territory occupied by Iranian peoples as an ethnographical unit, or with the domain of influence of the Iranian culture, or yet with the spread of Persian, the Iranian literary language.

In ancient times, both India and Iran were occupied by a people calling themselves Aryans-*arya* in India, *ariya* or *airya* in the ancient Iranian dialects.¹

In the inscriptions of King Darius, the word "Aryans" refers, as it seems, solely to the population of Iran. India and the Indians got their names from the frontier river *Sind* (*Sindhu*) in the Iranian pronunciation *Hindu* (the Indian *s* generally corresponds to the Iranian *h*) on our present day's maps, "Indus". From the Persians, that name passed on to the Greeks, and, like most Greek names, was adopted into the present day geographical terminology. In the Iranian Sacred Scriptures (Avesta) the term *Hindu* is used as the name of a river, and they speak about the "Seven Hindus" (*hapta hindu*) which corresponds exactly to the Indian term "*sapta sindhava*". The Indian, "Seven Rivers" received that name from the Indus, the Kabul and the five rivers of the Punjab (that is the "five rivers"), Chinab, with its tributaries, the Jelam, and Ravi, and the Sutlej. with its tributary, the Bias. Opposed to the Aryans are the Turs (*tura*, adjective *tuirya*) and Sarims (*Sairima*). By the latter, it is supposed, we are to understand the Sarmatians of the Greeks, a Central Asian people of the same stock as the Iranians. This opinion is shared by many scholars.

Most probably the Turanians were of the same race and lived also in Central Asia. In other words, the population of Iran dissociated themselves in a like manner, both from the Indian "Aryans" and their Central Asian brethren.

The word "Iran", originally "Aeran", makes its first appearance at a later period and is the genitive plural from the word *airya* (*Airya-nam*) in the sense of: the land of the Arians. For the first time, we

¹ Cf. the Synopsis of the linguistic materials in Chr. Bartholomae, Altiranisches Wörterbuch (Air Wb.) 1904.

find that word in its Greek form "Ariane" in Eratosthenes (3rd Century B. C.) from whom Strabo borrowed his information. The boundaries of this "Ariana", or Iran, were as under:—

The Indus in the East, the Hindukush and the Mountain ranges to its West—in the North, the Iranian Ocean in the South: its Western frontier extended from the Caspian Gates—a mountain-pass eastward from Tehran, along the line which divided Parthia from Media, and Karamania (Kerman) from Persis (Pars). The term: the land of the Aryans was obviously understood not in the ethnographical but solely in the political sense of the word, that was the name of the country united under the power of the Arsacids,—a dynasty which rebelled against the Greek conquerors. The regions remaining under Greek rule, in the West (the Seleucid state) as well as in the northwest (the Græco-Bactrian state) were not comprised within the scheme of Iran¹. In course of time, under the Sasanids, Babylonia, a region with a Semitic population containing the capital of the Shah-in-Shah was not only amalgamated with Iran, but even considered as "the heart of the Iranian land."² Even nowadays in Persia itself, the term Iran means the kingdom of the Shah-in-Shah. The origin of the word Iran, as well as the ethnographical term "Aryans", from which it is derived, were forgotten as early as the middle ages. From the word "Iran", to designating the population of that country, the term "Iranians" (Pers. *Irani*) was derived. To "Iran" is most often opposed, "Turan", a word derived from "Tur" in the same manner, as "Iran" from "Aryan", only in later times "Turan" was identified with "Turkestan", the land of the Turks.

Quite a different significance is attributed to the words "Iran" and "Turan" in the geographical science. Under "Iran" a table-land is understood, representing a closed reservoir bounded on the North by the Caspian and Aral Seas, on the South, West and East—by the basin of the Indian Ocean, between the Tigris and the Indus. The words "Turan" and "Turanians" were sometimes used in a wider sense, uniting under these terms, the whole Central Asian world from the South Russian steppes up to China distinguishing the Turanians not only from Iranians, but from all the "Aryans" in general. The name of the

1 Y. Marquart in ZDMG, 49 (1895) 628.

2 The Arabic text in Yakut's geographical Dictionary, I, 417.

Aryans became again known to Europeans in the 18th century, and not from the spoken language, but from the most ancient written monuments of India and Iran. When the affinity of the languages of India and Iran with the European languages was established, the name Aryans began to be applied to all the representatives of the linguistic group embracing the nations, "from India to Iceland". In the course of time, other terms were proposed to take the place of "Aryans"—Indo-European, Indo-German, (especially amongst German scholars) Ario-Europeans when "Aryans" was sought to be reserved only for the Indo-Europeans of Asia, whose forefathers actually called themselves by that name. In spite of it all, however, the word "Aryans" is still used sometimes in its former sense even in Germany¹. The Aryans, in the sense of the Indo-Europeans of Asia "were divided into two branches, the Indian and the Iranian, the name "Iranians" in the linguistic sense of the word was applied, independently of the political frontiers, to all the nations, united under that heading on the ground of their linguistic affinities. When, at the end of the 19th century the idea of collecting materials relative to the domain of Iranian philology, languages, literature and history of the Iranians first arose², the linguistic part of this work, comprised idioms from the most Eastern of the Pamir Dialects, the Sarikoli, to Western Kurdish dialects in the Eastern part of the Asia Minor Peninsula. Moreover, the dialect of the so-called Ossetes, who call themselves "Iran"; who live in the Caucasus outside the region occupied by the rest of the Iranians to the West of the former Military-georgian road were included. In ancient times, the domain of the spread of Iranian dialects was more extensive still, though, in many cases, the question as to what nations spoke Iranian languages, remains still unsettled.

1 Thus as late as in 1920, N. Soderblom, *Einführung in die Religionsgeschichte*, 7.

2 Besides the above quoted example, see also Th. Poesche, *Die Arier*, 1878. The time when the term Indo-Germans first made its appearance in science cannot be exactly established. According to the article, "Aryans," in the *Encycl. Brit.* the term was first used by Fr. Schloegel. His "Ueber die Sprache und Weisheit der Inder" (1808), is quoted, where, however, the word "Indo-Germanen" is not found. It is only possible to say that the term "Indo-Germans" was already in existence at the time of the appearance of Klaproth's "Asia Polyglotta" (1823) and it does not follow from Klaproth's own words that he was the first to apply that term. See J. K. Bulitch, "An essay on the history of linguistics," I, 2 (in Russian)

3 *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*. The publication of it began in 1895, completed in 1904.

A still wider scope was enjoyed by the chief literary language of Iran, which we call "Modern-Persian" which was formed, at a later period, after the introduction of Islam. It was a written language, even far outside the linguistic limits of Iran from Constantinople (to the period of the Turkish Sultan Selim II. 1566-1574, belonged to a number of Persian Poets) to Calcutta and to the cities of Chinese Turkestan. The historian of Iranian culture has to take into consideration both that fact and the still more numerous translations from Persian and imitations of the Persian standard works.

(I)

*The Place of Iranians of Iran and of the Iranian Culture
in World History.*

The historical problem of the destinies of the Iranians outside the boundaries of Iran is closely connected with certain questions, which can only be decided with the help of the available linguistic and archaeological materials¹—about their original mother-country, about the migrations of the Indo-Europeans, Aryans and Iranians and the questions as to which of the nations, known to us by name, must be considered by us as Iranian. There has grown up an extensive literature relating to these problems. As there is indubitable linguistic and cultural affinity between the Iranians and the Eastern Havs, every historian dealing with the early period of the history of the Russian language and of the Russian nation, has had to give his attention to these Iranian questions. Amongst others, the late A.A. Shakhmatov², the author of the last classical work in this domain, occupied himself with the fascinating inquiry. With all that, our researches do not yet give any exact answers to these questions. Many of the facts that seemed well-established have again become uncertain, during the last few years, partly under the influence of new theories, partly, thanks to newly discovered materials. The views given expression to in Shakhmatov's book were the result of the investigations of several generations of scholars and may be considered as well established. According to this theory, independently of the earlier

¹ Cf. for instance, the article "Urheimat der Indogermanen" in "Reallexicon der Indogermanischen Altertumskunde" by O. Schrader (1931). The question was raised as early back as the end of the 18th century. cf. Works of Sir W. Jones III, 185-204, (the address delivered by Jones on the 23rd of February, 1792), where the three chief branches of peoples—the Indian, the Arabian and the Tartarian—are discussed as well as their supposed common mother-country Iran.

² Introduction to a course of the history of the Russian language, p. I, 1916 (in Russian.)

migrations of the Aryans, the common ancestors of Indians and Iranians from Europe to Asia¹, there was a later exodus of several Iranian nations from Asia to Europe and across Europe from the East to the West², beginning with Herodot's Scythians, of whom the first intimations refer to the 7th century, B. C. to the Alans³. A part of the latter penetrated with other nations in the 5th C. (B. C.) as far as Spain and Africa, the other part remaining in Southern Russia, up till the Mangol invasion and even afterwards. The Ossetes are recognised to be remnants of the Alans.

On the authority of the existing archaeological materials a considerable part in the cultural history of Russia and even of Western Europe must be assigned to Iranians. From M. I. Rostofftev's point of view, the coming of the Sarmatians, contributed to the appearance in the Roman Provinces of a new style of architecture the so-called Roman style, which influenced the Gothic style and played a certain part in the history of Western European Art⁴. According to A. A. Spitzin's opinion, the Alans, gave the tone to the culture of the Khazars⁵. These deductions are based on the attempts to date the existing archaeological materials, an extremely difficult matter, which even now, generates diversity of views, among the most distinguished scholars⁶. Last, but not the least, Marr⁷ tried lately to give another solution to the "Scythian question" and to prove the ethnological unity of the Scythians and the "Japhetids" of the Caucasus that is, of the pre-Aryan strata of the

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- 1 Shakhmatov's quotation (p. 20) of Latham is referring to Tacitus' "Germany" (1851); about Latham's forerunners (Poles) Th. Poesche, *Die Arier*, 62.—
 - 2 cf. Shakhmatov, pp. 35 foll., before him Ed. Meyer in *Zeitschr. für vgl. Sprachf.*, 42 (1909) 26 foll., where the Iranians are compared with the Turks as regards the extensiveness of the region of their migrations. Of more early works see, for instance, W. Tomaschek, *Kritik der Ältesten Nachrichten über den skythischen Norden* SBW, 116 und 117; W. P. Miller, *Journal of the Russian Ministry of Public Instruction*, October 1886; F. Braun, *Researches in the domain of the Gotho-Slavanic relations*, 1897, pp. of. 3 foll. (in Russian)
 - 3 Regarding Alans see the essay in Russian by Prof. V. Kulakovskiy "The Alans according to the accounts given by classical and Byzantine writer," Kiev, 1899.
 - 4 M. T. Rostovtsev, *Ellinism and Iranism in the South of Russia*, 1918, p. 13).
 - 5 *Journal of the Russian Ministry of Public Instruction*, 1909, January, cf.
 - 6 cf. M. T. Rostovtsev's work reviewed by B. V. Farmukoxsey in the *Russian Historical Journal*, book 7 (1921) pp. 203-208, the end.
 - 7 *Japhet*, a Magazine in Russian, I (1922), pp. 67-132.

Armenian people, the Georgians, etc. Farmakovsky was also in favour of the theory of the Yaphetic origin of the Scythians¹. Under these circumstances, it is difficult to answer definitely the question, whether the history of Eastern Europe has actually been influenced by the Iranians. As little are we also able to answer the question whether it is possible to discover any traces of the influence of the Iranian nomads on the way of life and the culture of the later inhabitants of the same steppes, viz. the Turks. The archaeological discoveries of the first year of the 20th century lead to other questions, concerning the migrations of the Iranians. But the results of all the researches cannot be yet definitely fixed. In 1905, Hugo Winckler, who died in 1913, started excavations in Asia Minor, in the village Boghaz-kein on the place of the ancient capital of Hittites which flourished between the 15th and the beginning of the 12th century B.C.². In the records of this people were preserved documents, referring to the Mitanni people, who lived in the Northern part of Mesopotamia. From the names of the divinities of this people, it has become possible to draw the conclusion that their chiefs were Aryans, not yet divided into Indians and Iranians. Edw. Meyer sees in them "the first appearance of Aryans in history"³. It was established later that the language of the Mitanni is not Aryan, but belongs to the Japhetic group⁴. For the word *Kharri* or *Harri*, in which Winckler saw reference to Indian element, proved to be a Japhetic name. In 1919, there was made an attempt⁵ to prove that in the inscriptions of Boghaz-kani, several languages are represented, one of them, in which nine tenths of the inscription is embodied, was recognised to be a mixed language with an Indo-Germanic base. Now-a-days, a conclusion has been arrived at, quite contrary to Edw. Meyer's opinion, that the division of Aryans into Indians and Iranians took place, when they were still in Europe, that the most ancient Indians⁶ (*Urin-dier*) passed through the Caucasus from the North to the South in about 2500 B.C. and occupied the land along the right bank of the Kur from

1 In the above mentioned review, p. 206.

2 Ed. Meyer, in *Zeitschr. für vgl. Sprachl.*, XLII, 24.

3 This article under that heading (*Ueber das erste Auftreten der Arier*, SPAW, 1908) is quoted by B. A. Turaev, *History of the Ancient East* 2, I. 76.

4 I. Born. *Die Mitaani—Sprache*, 1909.

5 E. Farrer *Die acht Sprachen der Baghazköi—Inschriften*; SPAW, 1919, pp. 1029—1041.

6 Thereabout, besides P. Jensen *Indische Zahlwörter in Keilschriftlichen Texten*; *ibid.*, 367 foll.

the present Ganjah (Elisabethpol) to the Caspian Sea¹. According to another theory the Indians passed through the Caucasus in about 1700 B.C., the Iranians following them and little by little driving them on eastwards, sometime about 1000 B.C., There is a third branch of Aryans quite different from these two, the Sakas. (this word is found, as a popular name in the Ancient Persian cuneiform inscriptions and is mentioned by Herodotus VII as a Persian name for the Scythians). These Sakas moved from Europe to Asia, not through the Caucasus but by routes lying to the North of Caspian Sea, and in the course of time settled in Turkestan and Afghanistan, thus forming a wedge between the Indians and the Iranians. All these theories can by no means be considered as scientifically established facts. They only serve to formulate questions, which require further investigations.

About the same time, expeditions were sent to study the remnants of Buddhist culture in Chinese Turkestan, especially by Germans. One of the first of these was that of Gruewedel² in 1902-3. Two others financed by the British were under Sir Aurel Stein in 1901, and in 1906-7. These expeditions resulted in establishing the fact of the existence in Central Asia during the period from the 1st, right up to the 10th century A. D., of several formerly unknown Indo-European literary languages. In two of these languages³, only translations of Buddhist literature of the 7th century A. D. and of later times, were discovered. These languages at their discovery was first merely labelled "Language I" and "Language II", with a further subdivision of each of them into dialects "A" and "B". "Language I" had been used in the district of Kutch, "Language II"—in the district of Khotan. "Language I" was considered as Indo-European, but not Aryan and in many respects seemed to be nearer to the European group. "Language II" was considered to be Iranian by its grammatical construction, to a considerable degree Indian, by its lexical composition. It was, therefore, proposed to

1 Y. Strzygowski *Altai—Iran Völkerwanderung*, 1917, 187 foll., cf. *Proceedings of the ATMK* (in Russian) II, 364.

2 A few fragments were discovered earlier by Sven Hedin (journeys of 1893-97) and especially by the expedition of Rohdarsky and Ozlov (1893-5).

3 Thereabout, for instance, E. Leumann in *ZDMG.* 61 (1907), pp. 648-658; Russian N. D. Mironov in *Lapessky Vostochnago Otdeleniya*, XIX pp. XXI-XXII, 0107-0114. Stael Holsten in *Lapessky*, XX, 016-020, see there also references to other works; against Stall—Holstein's theory Iarl Charpentier in *LDMG*, 71 (1917) 347 foll. Recently several articles in *SPAW* 1919 and in *Festschrift für Tr. Hirth*, Berl. 1920 (*Ostas. Ztschr.* VIII), earlier in *ZDMG* 71 (1917).

consider it as a third ("Northern") language¹ of the Aryan branch. Against this proposition, it was quite correctly observed that, notwithstanding its lexical borrowings from a foreign language, "Language II" is as much Iranian as English is Germanic. Since 1908 a discussion has been going on as to the nations, which spoke these languages. Several German and French scholars, before all others F. W. K. Muller, (1907) proposed to name "Language I"—the Tokharian, from the name of the Tokhars, mentioned in Greek sources among the conquerors of the Graeco-Bactrian realm in the 2nd century B.C. For they formerly lived near the Chinese frontier. From the name of the Tokhars a part of the Bactria was called "Tokharistan", even in Muslim times. From one of the Turkish Buddhist documents, it can be seen that some Buddhist literature existed in the Tokhar language. Mention is made of a translation from the Tokhar language into Turkish of certain works, found amongst the documents in "Language I". Some other scholars, before others Stael von Holstein, in 1908, did not consider this reason as sufficient. They tried to prove that there was no information whatsoever about any Tokhars near Kutchah while they were quite definite about the existence of Tokhars near Khotan, arguing therefore that the name "Tokhar" ought to belong with better title to "Language II" ordinarily called "Sakian" "Ancient-Khotanian" or "Eastern Iranian."²

The third language, an unmistakably Iranian one, left more traces in world history for there were found in this language, in Central Asia, some documents (1st C. A. D.) and literary monuments (7th—9th cc.) Since 1904, the name Saghedian is applied to this language under the influence of the well-known work of the Muslim author Al-Biruni in which two languages of pre-Islamic Turkestan [the "Saghedian" and the "Khawarizmian" are mentioned. The language of the newly discovered documents was recognized to be identical with the "Saghedian" of Al-Biruni, although these monuments were found in countries situated considerably more to the East of Saghedian proper or the valley of the Zarafshan upto the ruins from Leb-Nor to the Chinese frontier-fortress Tun-huan. In accordance with this, the chief French investigator, the

1 The term "Nordarish" was proposed by Leumann (*Zur nordarischen Sprache und Literatur*, 1912) Characteristics of the same language, as Iranian, for instance Lüders, *Die sakische Mura* (SPAW, 1919; 734 foll.)

2 All the three terms in the above mentioned Lüder's articles. An attempt at characterising the contemporary (1920) situation of the question was made by S. Feist in *Festschrift für Fr. Hirth*, pp. 74-84 : "Der gegenwärtige Stand des Tocharerproblems."

Soghdian language extended from Samarkhand to China¹. It is possible, however, that it was really the language of Saghiana and that its wide spread Eastward towards China was connected with the formation of those numerous Soghdian colonies, of which we have information both from Chinese and Muslim sources. In Islamic times, the Soghdian language was supplanted by the language of Persia, and is now existing only in the form of two dialects in the valley of the Yaghnod river, one of the tributaries of Zaraphano. But there is no doubt that long before the Persian language and Islam became predominant, a certain cultural influence was exercised by the Central Asian Iranians, on the peoples living further eastward, more particularly upon Turks, and later through the Turks and Mongols to a certain extent even on China itself.

There is very little doubt about the Saghidian origin of the alphabet of the Uygur-Turks, who in their turn transmitted the written language to the Mongols and the Mongols to the Manchurians². While the literary monuments of three religions, Buddhist, Manichæan and Christian, have come down to us in three languages: Saghdi³, Turkish and Chinese. Saghidian influence upon the spread of all these three religions may be considered as proved. Upto our days, in the Turkish and Mongolian languages, the same cultural words of Saghidian origin are still preserved amongst them certain Buddhist terms. There are special books written on the subject of the cultural influence of Central Asian Iranian upon China⁴.

It is remarkable that among the Central Asian discoveries not a single fragment is found having reference to the national religion of Iran, generally called Zoroastrianism, from the name of its founder in its Greek form Zoroaster; the Ancient-Iranian Zarathushtra or, according to Andreas⁵ opinion Zuratushtro. Nor is there any allusion to Mazdaism

1 Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscr. etc. 1913 p. 671.

2 R. Gauthiot, De l'alphabet sogdien (YA 10, XVII, pp. 81-95)

3 On the language of the Manichæan and Christian fragments F. C. Andreas in SPAW 1911), pp. 307-314 ; on Buddhist fragments especially R. Gauthiot in several articles (for instance, YA, 10, XVII, pp. 81-95; XVIII, pp. 49-67; XIX, pp. 163-193, 429-50; Me'm, Le la Soc. Ling de Paris, XVII, pp. 137-161; 357-367).

4 Especially E. Chavannes and P. Pelliot Un traite manichéen retrouvé en Chine YA., 10, XVIII, pp. 499-617. 11, I, pp. 99-199, 261-394. Also P. Pelliot. Les influences Iraniennes en Asie Centrale et en Extrême Orient, 1911 (from the Revue d'hist et de litt. religieuses); A. Stein, Ruins of Desert Catay. 1912, II, 186 B. Laufer Sino-Iranica, 1919 (Chicago's Field Museum of Natural history. Anthropol. Series, Vol. XV, No. 3.)

5 GN. 1911, 9.

from the name of the supreme deity Ahura-Mazda, or, in more ancient texts, Mazda-Shura, literally "Holy Lord". This religion to which an Eastern Iranian origin is generally attributed, was the religion of the greatest part of the Saghdian people, and was spreading mostly Westwards. In China itself Zoroastrian temples were erected by some representatives of the Sasanian dynasty who lived there as refugees, but there was no Zoroastrian propaganda there.

There are many quite contradictory opinions with regard to the importance of Zoroastrianism in world history as well as in the life of the Iranians. According to the opinions of some scholars, ancient Iran was as little original in the domain of religion as in the domain of material culture¹. They declare that the tendency of the European scholars to "extol the Avesta, the Holy Scriptures of Zoroastrianism to the detriment of the pentateuch is based on" their hatred towards the Semitic races and their pride in their Aryan origin². On the other hand, Edward Meyer, in his last big work, appears as an eloquent panegyrist of Zoroastrianism³. According to him, Zoroaster is the first person to leave in the history of religion traces of his creation⁴. Zoroastrianism is the first of the great world religions⁵; in the inscriptions of Darius, as among the first Christians, the proud consciousness of men possessing the truth and fighting falsehood is visible. Sovereigns and the higher classes of the World-Empire were enthusiastic partisans of the true faith and were full of contempt for the foolishness of these nations who fancied their deities as dwelling in images made by human hands or confined to narrow temples⁶.

With this last opinion, it is most difficult to agree. Only by means of a very artificial interpretation of the inscriptions of Darius is it possible

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- 1 B. A. Farmakovskiy in the Russian Historical Journal VII quotes Herzberg ("read Herzfeld") *Iranische Felsreliefs*, although that book does not contain any such definite statement about Iranians having had nothing besides the heirloom received from their predecessors.
 - 2 The words of Halévy quoted by E. G. Brown, *A. lit. history of Persia*, I, p. 29.
 - 3 Ed. Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, Stuttg. u. Berlin 1921, II, pp. 58-94.
 - 4 Die erste Persönlichkeit, die schöpferisch gestaltend in die Religionsgeschichte eingreift (58.)
 - 5 Die erste der grossen Weltreligionen.
 - 6 Voll Geringschätzung schauten sie auf die Torheit der Völker herab, welche die Götter in Bildern von Menschenhand oder in engen Tempelbezirken hausend dachten.

to see in them any signs of favour for this religion and its propagation. Ahura-Mazda is a great deity in the first instance, because He made Darius a King, the sole King, over many peoples, a supreme sovereign for many peoples¹. Man is required to be pious, because with piety is strictly connected the fulfilment of the duties of a loyal subject, impostors and rebels are the chief representatives of falsehood, as opposed to truth. Nothing is said about the penetration of the Persian religion, where it was not known before. The King was proud only of the fact that, the lance of the Persian warriors far away from Persia gained victories in combats². If the god Ahura-Mazda did not exist before Zoroaster, as is suggested by Edw. Meyer, then Darius, was a partisan of Zoroastrianism; but that was not the same Zoroastrianism, as became predominant under the Arsacid and Sasanian dynasties. Edw. Meyer passes over in silence the fact that under Darius, there was no religious unity in Iran; the Persian government viewed the representatives of the Median priesthood, the Magi, as their enemies³. Darius' victory over the Magian Gaumatox (?) had not only a political, but also a religious, character. This becomes obvious from the words of Darius: "temples destroyed by Magians I restored."⁴

In the history of religious thought, the doctrine connected with the name of Zoroaster has a prominent place. It is founded on a thesis which is absurd from the scientific point of view, but has a great moral value,—namely the dualistic conception of the world—a doctrine about the struggle of good with evil throughout the world and about the necessity for every man to take part in this struggle. This idea had a great influence later upon several religions, on later Judaism, on the cult of Mithra, on Christianity on Manicheism, and lastly on Islam. But in Zoroastrianism itself, it was soon strangled by lifeless rituals, mechanical repetition of formulas learned by heart. As even Edw. Meyer⁵ himself recognises, "the lifeless ritual and formalism" go as far back as to Zoroaster himself, who in this respect is certainly inferior to the great Jewish prophets.

1 B. Turaev, *History of the Ancient East*, 2, II, p. 203.

2 The translation of I. H. Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften am Grabe des Darius Hystaspis* (Abh. der phil.—hist. Klasse der Kon. Sächs. Ges. der Wiss., XXIX, I, 1911) p. 26.

3 To that are pointing also the words of Herodot (III, 79).

4 Turaev, O. C., II, p. 179.

5 O. C., II, p. 73. (Starrer Ritualismus und Formalismus).

In the course of time, Zoroastrianism was becoming more and more like a heathen cult, and in the epoch of its greatest dominating power, that is under the Sasanian dynasty (3rd to 7th cc) it did not possess any ethical value, and only after the victory of Islam, it underwent a process of purification, among its few followers, who remained true to the old religion, until it became purely monotheistic¹.

Still more important than the Iranian religion for the history of the Ancient World was the Iranian polity. The Persian kings of Achemenian origin created the first World Empire in history, comprising several cultured countries and nations. There exist also many contradictory opinions with regard to the importance of this polity for the dependent nations. Certain authorities on the history of the Ancient East and the history of Greece², considered very often Persians as tyrants, as enemies of culture and freedom, and their empire as combination of despotism and anarchy. The most eloquent exponent of quite the reverse opinion on this occasion again is Edw. Meyer³. According to this great German scholar, the Persian state had the first place in world history⁴, by virtue of recognition of the principle of mercy on the conquered and by its ability in introducing in the conquered countries a more regular government than the one previous to their subjugation. (16.11.28). The extreme leniency of Persian kings especially of Cyrus, as compared with the former conquerors has been explained by the influence of his religion. This however, can hardly bear criticism⁵. The Median kings, who destroyed Nineveh razing it to the ground were, it seems, also Zoroastrians. The view has been expressed that Persians were in the East what Romans later became, for the ancient World. But this opinion needs to be qualified⁶. Contrary to the importance of Rome in the history of Italy and Western Europe, the Achemenian monarchy during

1 Turaev, O. C., II, p. 207.

2 How unwillingly any superiority of the Persian polity as compared with the Assyrian-Babylonian statecraft was recognized by them can be seen from the words of H. Winckler (Helmoltz Weltgeschichte, III, 151; "Wir wissen dass es weder die erste noch die dauerhafteste und machtigste wenn vielleicht auch (sic) ausgedehnteste Erscheinung seiner Art ist." Also translated in Russian, p. 157.

3 These words were often repeated, for instance; T. V. Prasek, Geschichte der Meder und Perser II, p. 233. cf. also Geschichte des Alterthums, III, Th. I, p. 24.

4 The well known verse of Virgil (Aeneid, VI, p. 853).

5 Turaev, O. C., II, p. 168. Grundriss, II, p. 423.

6 Th. Lindner, Weltgeschichte, I, p. 161.

two centuries of its existence, did neither give the Iranians any cultural unity nor any "iranification" to the foreign nations. According to the narrative quoted at the end of Herodotus, the inhabitants of Persia, in the more restricted sense, that is, of the present Fars mostly remained after the formation of the Persian state in their birth-place and only Persian military detachments and their chiefs were ever sent abroad. Therefore, the Persian domination did not influence either the cultural development of the Eastern Iranians, as compared with these in the West, nor was the ethnographic dissimilarity between the Iranians and their Western neighbours influenced, in any way. The Bactrians and the Saghdians of the epoch of Alexander were beyond comparison inferior to the Medians¹ and the Persians as regards their cultural level: the ethnographic frontier of Iran in the West was just the same in Alexander's time as under Cyrus. It would have been accordingly a mistake to attribute, as was afterwards done, all the relics of the Achaemenian period to the Persian people in its entirety and to consider those relics as a manifestation of Persian national ideals. It is not known whether in the pre-Achaemenian epoch any idea of polity did ever exist among the Eastern Iranians, not influenced by the ancient-cultured nations. Judging by the statement of Herodotus (III, 117), it is possible to suppose the existence of a certain state power in Khwarizm; anyhow the state power in Media and Persia was formed under the influence of Assyro-Babylonian traditions quite foreign to Iran, which later subdued by the force the original Iranian religions just as the Frank state power, formed in the course of time in Gallia, imposed its domination on Germany.

Here we find an explanation of that complete estrangement, in the period of Achaemenian monarchy, between the state and the people which is now recognised nearly by all the investigators², amongst them also by Edw. Meyer³. With the assistance of foreign artists, the Achaemenians had created their written language and their court arts, the existence of which ended with the existence of the dynasty, without leaving any trace either in the life or in the memory of the people. The grand monuments, which were considered as the incarnation of the Persian idea of a monarch's power, contrary to the Greek ideal of national freedom,

¹ cf. for instance, the eloquent pages in Tarmakovsky's book on "The artistic ideal of the democratic Athens," 1918, p. 51 foll.

² cf. Turaev, O. C., II, p. 215.

³ Ed. Meyer *Geschichte des Alterthums*, III, Th. I, p. 181.

were made not by Persian, but foreign artists, including Greeks, in the service of the Persian King¹. One of them was expressing his joy that he knew how to please King Darius and made in this way illustrious not only himself, but also Samos² his native island. Buildings created by the Achemenids in the very birth place of the Persian people, in Pasargadae and Persepolis had only a decorative importance; the actual capital of the Persian King was Susa, a city situated outside the limits of ethnographical Iran in the old culture region. Iran kept on living its old life based on the domination of the aristocratic land-owners and submitting very little to the influence of the Babylonian urban culture. In the Eastern parts of Iran³ of that period, the national epic was in the figurative art and then becoming the property of the whole nation. It has proved to be more lasting than all that was being implanted by the ruling dynasty.

Like all great empires founded by nations of inferior culture, the empire of the Achemenids had less importance for the people, who created it, than for its more cultured contemporaries. The widening of the geographical and generally intellectual horizons among the representatives of the Greek civilisation, to which the work of Herodotus⁴ and his predecessors bears testimony, came as a result of the Persian conquests. When the Macedonian King united Greece under his power, the Greeks succeeded also in wresting from the Persians their political domination: the Greek potentates became "the Great Kings", or "the King of Kings", with this essential difference that since Alexander, the world-lords, or those who considered themselves as such, did not merely remain representatives of God, but actually called themselves gods. This idea

1 Hid. 122: "Schwerlich sind die Baumeister und Bilohauer der Paläste und Gräber Perser gewesen."

2 Herodot. IV, 88. Regarding the question as to how far the remnants of Persepolis themselves testify to a part taken by Greek artists the opinions of specialists sharply diverge. cf., for instance, F. Justi, *Geschichte der Orient, Völker im Altertum* 405, (wie die ganze Terrasse den Eindruck hellenischer Kunstwerke in persischem Gewaude erweckt") U. E. Herzfeld, *Tr, Felsr.* 145 ("Weder die Prinzipien der Komposition, noch die Stoffe der Darstellungen noch die Vortragsweise lassen auch nur einen Hauch griechischen Geistes verspüren".)

3 Zapisky, XXII, p. 258 foll.

4 cf. the words of Herodot himself; IV, p. 44.

|| borrowed by Alexander from Egypt: was brought by him into Iran¹, where it remained even after the overthrow of the Greek domination and the consequent accession to the throne of the new Iranian dynasties upto the very time of the victory of Islam.

The Iranian state life, as started after the death of Alexander the Great, was also quite different on all other points from the political life in the epoch of the Achemenids. The influence of the Northern-Iranian and the Eastern-Iranian elements became stronger. Still during the life of Alexander another princely dynasty of Iranian origin appeared in Media. The first Iranian state, which was strong enough to fight against the Greeks, was formed in 3rd century, B. C., farther eastward, in Parthia. And it was founded not by natives, but by foreigners, who came from the neighbouring steppes. Arsak, the founder of the dynasty, was also called a Bactrian². The population of Iran under the Arsacids increased by other newcomers from Central Asia, the Sakas, by whose name the region of Seistan (properly Sakistan) is nowadays known. Under their influence the Iranian national epic was formed. The most popular episode of that epic of Shah Nameh, the story of the hero Rustom, belongs to these Sakas or Scythians.

The Arsacid State had a more national character than that of the Achemenids. This is proved by a fact previously mentioned that at the end of the 3rd c. B. C. under the term, "Iran", only the Arsacid state itself was understood and that this name was no more applied to the regions in the West and in the North East, which still remained under Greek supremacy. The word Iran did not appear on the Arsacid coins, which were minted only with Greek inscriptions, nearly to the very end of 1st c. B. C.; in spite of such a submission to the influence of Greek culture, the Arsacid state, with its patriarchal organisation, was nearer to the Iranians traditions than that of the Achemids³.

The influence of Achaemenian traditions was reduced to the accepting of the title of "Great King" or "King of Kings", adopted also by the sovereigns of Greek origin. After Media was annexed, the Arsacids

1 Turaev, O. C., II, p. 262, Zapissky XXIV, 265.

2 Zapissky, XXII, 266, note 1, also quotations from Strabo, §§15 and A. V. Gutschmid, Geschichte Irans und seiner Nachbarländer, 30.

3 A Christensen, L' empire des Sassanides, 1907, 7.

submitted to the influence of Median Zoroastrianism. In that epoch episodes from the life of Zoroaster were transferred to Northern Media, the present Azarbaijan. In the state council the Magians represented a separate body. The first redaction of Avesta known to us, but lost, belongs to the Arsacid epoch. This work was compiled under the King Vologases, a name mentioned several times among the names of Arsacid Kings. Some of the European scholars refer this fact to the epoch of Vologases I (51-78)¹ others to Vologases III (148-191)². The tradition in the earlier redaction tells us only that all the copies of the Avesta had disappeared as far back as during the reign of Alexander, according to one of the narratives, one of the copies was taken away by the Greeks and translated into Greek³.

In proportion to the successes of the Arsacids, in their campaigns against the Seleucid, Alexander's successors in Asia, the capital of the Arsacid State, was moving farther and farther westward, and the selection of a place for the same was determined solely by the conditions prevailing after Alexander's death almost without any influence from the Achemenian traditions. The village of Ktesiphon opposite Seleucia, the chief Greek city on the Tigris, served as winter quarters, for the Arsacids in the second half of the 1st c. B. C.⁴ Originally, Ktesiphon was merely a military camp, and in course of time, together with Seleucia and several other military camps, it became a great city.

After the disintegration of Alexander's empire the Western cultured world (if it is possible to unite under such a name, Asia Minor and Europe) was never able to create a world-monarchy. The Iranians, who before the Greeks aimed at world power, could no more attain their former importance, but they could oppose to the Greek and later to the Roman Supremacy, the supremacy of Asian peoples. Such a situation remained without alteration upto the time of the fall of Byzantium created by the Arsacids, who, having driven away the Seleucids, as far as the Euphrates, arrested the progress of Rome near the same line. Under the Arsacids was also definitely established the paramountcy of

1 cf. Zapissky, XXII, p. 264, regarding Marquarts, opinion and the suppositions of Gutschmid, O. C., 137.

2 Grundriss, II, 34 (K. F. Geldner) and 510 (F. Justi) in favour of the later opinion speaks very categorically Ed. Meyer (Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums, II, 74), without for ever, giving any reasons for it.

3 Dinkard (9th c.), last chapter, book 8; Grundriss, II, 33.

4 To that epoch refer almost all the information of Strabo, although he wrote later, in the 1st c. AD, about Ktesiphon, see 743.

an Eastern state over any Western state, with regard to the ability of controlling the routes of the world commerce, so characteristic of mediaeval times. The Arsacids attained the supremacy after the death of Alexander, when their trade with India became more active and when in the 2nd c. B. C. the commercial relations between Asia Minor and China were also established.

More even than the Arsacids, the Sasanians (3rd-7th) who took their place, availed themselves of that supremacy. It was a dynasty, which, like the Achemenids, arose originally in Fars. The last two centuries of the Arsacids' rule were a period of political dissolution for Iran¹, and this in spite of the fact that Rome was not successful during that epoch even in its desire to annex Mesopotamia. In the Persian tradition, the whole period of Arsacid rule was represented as a period of decay. The restoration of the Iranian polity destroyed by Alexander was attributed to the Sasanids. Their accession to the throne was connected with the re-establishment of the Zoroastrian religion in its ancient effulgence. In reality, the ruin of the Arsacid dynasty was not connected with such a crisis in the history of Iran, as was that of the Achemenids. Ktesiphon, the capital of the Arsacids, founded in a non-Iranian region, as regards the population, remained also the Sasanian capital. In the Sasanian monuments of the period, when they still were mere rulers of Fars², it is possible to discover some traces of the influence of Achemenian traditions. In the monuments erected by them, even in Fars itself, during the epoch of their world-power, there are no more traces of such an influence³. Figures of horsemen, commonly used under the Arsacids, occupy a prominent position amongst the monuments of Sasanian art. The Sasanids maintained the policy of the Arsacids as regards their protection of the national religion and the clergy and also in their attempt to make a collection of the Sacred texts. In their epoch the greatest state sanctuary was still the Fire-Temple in the Median town

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- 1 The words of Gutschmid (O. C. 164) *Aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach hat von dem Jahre 58 an Komisene die östlichste Satrapie des Arsacidenreichs gebildet* have not been disproved, to my knowledge, to the present day.
 - 2 On these monuments see e.g., Grundriss, II, 486ff. The connection between the Sasanian and the Achemenian monuments seems to be somewhat exaggerated in "Iranische Felsreliefs" by Herzfeld, especially pp. 242 ff.
 - 3 The words of Ed. Meyer (Geschichte des Altertums, III, Th. I, 123): "von einer Anlehnung der sassanidischen Kunst an die achaemenidische ist nirgends etwas zu spüren," refer to this.

of Ganzaka, which was destroyed in 623 by the Emperor Heraclius. The so-called Middle-Persian language, in which all the sacred texts were interpreted and different other works, chiefly of a religious character, were written, preserved its name "Pahlavi", i. e. Parthian, even in Islamic times. The opinion of Andreas who considers Middle-Persian to be one of the dialects of South-Western Iran can, therefore, hardly be accepted¹.

The Sasanian polity like that of the Arsacids, was more Iranian than Achaemenian. The Sasanian king called himself "king of the kings of Iran", later on: "king of the kings of Iran and of non-Iran." We see in the last formula a fortunate connection of the national idea with the idea of a world empire. In course of time, the Sasanians came to be regarded in the East as rulers of the world, in the same way as the Roman Emperors were in Europe, and it is possible, with much greater justification. Victory was always with the Sasanids in any military conflicts. The influence of their state economical, if not political, extended much farther than their apparent scope. The whole trade with India and China, both by land and by sea was altogether in their hands. The Sasanids elaborated an efficient state-apparatus, perhaps the most perfect in the history of Asia Minor². Even during the periods of the greatest internal troubles, the state could conduct wars crowned with success. We cannot see in the history of the Sasanids, as in that of the Achaemenids, and especially in the history of the Arsacids, any slow-placed development followed by gradual decay. The empire was founded as if by a single stroke³. Its downfall was closely preceded by the period of the greatest splendour of the Sasanian empire attained most probably by excessive and overstrained effort.

The last consideration points to the somewhat artificial character of the power of Sasanian Iran, and is perhaps calculated to upset the established idea of the Sasanian period, having been the best at all points in the history and in the cultural life of Iran. That epoch in reality only prepared the way for the ultimate civilising supremacy of Iran. At that time, the cultural level of Iran, both materially and spiritually was considerably lower than that of Byzantium. The world-commerce was in the hands of the Persians, but its medium was the

1 GN 1911, 2: "ein stünd westiranischer Dialect "

2 Th. Noeldeke's opinion (*Geschichte der Perser und Araber Zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, aus Tabari, 1879, 453): "für den Orient fast das Muster eines wohlgeordneten Staats."

3 Th. Noeldeke's expression (*ZDMG*, XXXIX, 347), 3 "mit einem Schlage gegründet."

Byzantine gold coin. Persia was the country of silver coinage, whilst during the reign of the Achemenids the Persian kings used to mint gold pieces and the Greeks struck only silver coins. Iran employed Byzantine war-prisoners for building and irrigation works and also for the introduction of new branches of industry.

In the domain of intellectual culture, the first place belongs to the translations from Greek and Indian and also to the works of authors of Semitic (Armaic) origin. The greatest economical importance amongst the lands of the Persian kings belonged to Semitic Babylonia, a province from which one-third of all their revenues was derived. The East-Iranian regions, which partly constituted the border-land of the country, Merv, were situated beyond its boundaries in Bactria¹. It represented the second cultural centre. The interior districts contained cities without any real importance. The obsolete social hierarchy was sanctified by the religion. Only three classes, the clergy, the military aristocracy and the landowners, were taken into consideration: the fourth class the merchants and manufacturers had no privileges, such as were accorded exclusively to the abovementioned classes. The incompatibility of such an organisation with the claims of real life was one of the reasons of such frequent rebellions against the Imperial power and of so many cases of apostasy from the state religion.

The Manichean religion, which represented an attempt at fusion, between Zoroastrianism, Buddhism and Christianity, opposed to the above social organization the ideal of asceticism. The sect of Mazdak, an off-spring of the Manichean religion, opposed to its communist ideals. At the end of the 5th c. and at the beginning of the 6th c. the king Kavad hoping evidently to weaken the strength of the clergy and of the aristocracy with the help of the communists stood up for them. After the communistic crisis², the social organisation was restored with the substantial difference that the class of the laic functionaries took possession of the third place by the side of the clergy and the military aristocracy. The landowners became fused with the lower class of the urban population. This alteration clearly shows that the urban population had become stronger, but a more considerable development of the city life took place under Islam.

Christianity was more attractive than Manicheism, and Mazdaism to the more moderate social elements. One of the most important events

¹ Journal of the Russian Academy of the History of Material Culture, II, 378.

² About it especially Th. Noeldeke, O. C., 415-467.

in the history of Christianity was the organisation in 410 in Persia of a separate Church independent of Rome. As we have already pointed out in our article on the "Muslim World" the idea of Christianity became more universal than that of the Roman Empire¹. The Archaeological discoveries in Central Asia have proved that the Persian Christians in the Sasanian State held the divine service in their mother-tongue. It is, therefore, possible to think that the number of Christian communities was more considerable than it originally was supposed to have been². The exceptional success of Christianity in the Western-frontier districts of the Sasanian empire from the estuary of the Euphrates and Tigris upto Armenia and the Caucasus has been already pointed out. By the time of the Muslim conquest, these districts with the exception of a few Jewish colonies, became purely Christian. The Zoroastrians were as good as "swept away from the face of the earth."³ It is necessary, when trying to estimate this fact, not to forget that the Western borderland of the Sasanian State was never either Iranian in its population nor Zoroastrian in its religion, although the capital of the Persian kings was situated there at a certain epoch. A still more important fact is that by means of Christian propaganda the Sasanian power availed itself of all the commercial routes by land and by sea. Thus is explained the appearance of Christian communities in India, Central Asia and China. How great a share in this propaganda was taken by born Persians along with Armaeans remains as yet to be proved. Amongst the neophytes in every case, there were Zoroastrians, even Magians, in spite of the hostile feelings towards Christianity displaced by the Sasanian kings, who sometimes stood up against Christianity, not merely in the name of their religion, but even as champions of pagan culture. The victory of Christianity in Byzantium and its rejection by the Sasanids invested for the first time the rivalry of the two world-empires or the so called "West and East" with the character of a religious strife which did not exist before, but which was still maintained afterwards, even when the supremacy of Zoroastrianism in Iran had to cede its place to Islam.

¹ W. Barthold, "The Muslim World" (in Russian), II.

² Fr. C. Andreas, SPAW 1910, 871.

³ These are the words of E. Sachau in Mitt. des Seminars für Orient. Sprachen, X (1907), Westas. Stud., 72; "wie von der Erde weggefegt."

1 Still less up to this time has the question been elucidated as to the value of the Muslim period in the life of Iran and of the importance of Islamic Iran amongst its contemporary countries in Asia and in Europe. The historians of pre-Islamic Iran generally see in the life of Iran under Islam a picture of a gradual decline of the old culture. Justi applies to Iran the words of the count M. de Vogue relative to Syria about Islam, under the influence of which everywhere as under the influence of an elemental disaster the sources of intellectual and moral life are drying up, and human society is thrown out of its course. According to Justi's dictum, the Arabian rulers let their lands fall into decay, persecuted and destroyed their inhabitants with a religious fanaticism peculiar to their race¹. A. Christensen supposes that with the fall of the Sasanian empire, there was also destroyed the moral and the political strength of the Iranian people. The democratisation brought about by Islam, according to this scholar was especially fatal for Iran. The partisans of Islam were successful where the Mazdakites failed: the artistocratic classes were gradually dissolved into the other classes and all the characteristic aristocratic qualities little by little disappeared².

The opinion that the role of the Persians in the history of the world did not come to an end either with the reign of Darius, or with that of the Sasanids finds perhaps its most definite expression in Lindner's World History. According to him the Persians, "always rising again and again after periods of oppression and attempting to save their national substance, transmitted a great deal of their own spirit to their conquerors whether Greeks, Arabs, Turks, or Mongols, and then created for themselves, after every period of decay, some new cultural conditions. Several times, they got back their independence after a considerable lapse of time. It is true that their resistance became ultimately exhausted, but not before the original population had been modified to such an extent as to be almost unrecognisable. Slight as the reasons to hope for it may be, it is, however, still possible that the Persians are fated to liberate once more their original character from its foreign admixture."³

1 Grundriss, II, 549.

2 A. Christensen, *L'empire des Sassanides*, 110.

3 Th. Lindner, *Weltgeschichte*, I, 161.

Thus, Lindner's favourable opinion, as well as the contrary negative views, depends upon the preservation of a more or less pure national type. Long ago already a substantial difference in this respect, was noticed between the Greek and the Arab conquests. According to Th. Noeldeke's remark, the Hellenic influence upon the Persians was quite superficial, whilst the influence of the Arabian religion and customs permeated the whole life of Iran¹. The question of the consequence of the cultural connection between the two "racial" types remains, however, as much debatable as that of the consequences of the anthropological commixture. Thus, an opinion has been expressed regarding the Modern-Persian language that it is "a symbol of that fortunate commixture of the Indo European and the Semitic elements which took place in the East, during the Abbasid rule."² The same scholar speaks about "the gracious mobility of the Semitic spirit" as the chief characteristic not only of the Arabian, but also of the Modern-Persian poetry similar to which, nothing can be found in the Pehlavi literature³.

The merits of Modern-Persian poetry are quite an indisputable fact, which rather upsets the opinion about the Muslim epoch in the history of Iran, as being a period of hopeless deterioration. The literary form of the documents of pre-Islamic Iran, speak "eloquently of the commonsense and practical sagacity of the Persian people."⁴ The Persians of the Islamic period have created a poetry, which has influenced not only the poetry of other Eastern peoples especially the Turks, but also many of the classical poets of Europe⁵. Neither the European scholars, nor the Persian patriots, who tried to prove that the Arab conquest had brought with it only ruin for their culture, could deny the fact that no valuable literary documents of pre-Islamic Iran have reached us. They could only affirm that such documents had existed but were destroyed by the barbarity of the conquerors. In reality, in accordance with the light shed on the history of the first centuries of

¹ Th. Noeldeke, Aufsätze Zur persischen Geschichte, 1887, 134.

² Fr. Veit in Studien Zur vergleich. Literaturgeschichte, herausg v. Prof. Dr. M. Koch, VII, 393.

³ Ibid 394.

⁴ Turnev, O. C., II, 212

⁵ Suffice to quote "West-östlicher Divan" of Goethe (1814-19). Regarding the influence of India and Persia on Germ literature there can be cited the work by A. F. J. Remy. The influence of India and Persia on the poetry of Germany, New York, 1904.

Islam, the legend so often repeated of an intentional destruction of the documents of pre-Islamic literature by the Arabs is more and more disproved¹.

What has been said of the poetry can be extended to the other branches of spiritual culture, as well. In prose, the Arabian language was predominant, much longer than in poetry. The use of the Arabic language, for instance, in historical literature was entirely suspended only after the Mongol invasion². During the Islamic period, Iran produced for the first time an authentic historiography, whilst even the Sasanian empire was content with an imperial epic instead of an official history. The exact sciences such as mathematics, astronomy and others progressed considerably. Scientific works were written first in Arabic, later on in Persian astronomical works in the 14th c. were translated into Greek in Byzantium Persian³.

The same is to be said with regard to arts, especially architecture. During these last years, there had been an attempt, hardly a fortunate one, to establish a close connection as to place and time between the starting point of the Modern-Persian language, and its literature on the one hand, and that of Islamic-Iranian art on the other⁴. Far more to the point are the words of the same scholar⁵ about the dead forms and "the stagnation of four centuries" of the Sasanian period as compared with the rapid progress of the variety of Muslim architecture from the beginning of the 11th c. up to the time of its most flourishing period during the 15th c.⁶ If the progress of Persian architecture came to its end in the 15th c. as is supposed by several investigators that might have been connected with the commencement of stagnation in the domain of literature. Other investigators are disposed to recognise that the Safavid period i.e. the edifices of the 17th c. have a certain independent importance.

The question about the material culture is the most difficult to solve. Muslim authors quote figures of the revenues received from the separate

¹ e.g. ZA, XXVI, 264.

² C. Brockelmann, Geschichte der Arab. Litt. II, 192.

³ K. Krumbacher, Geschichte der Bysant. Litt.³ 622 ff.

⁴ E. Herzfeld in "Der Islam," XI (1921), 107-174 and my observations in the Journal of the Academy of the History of Material Culture, II, 371 ff.

⁵ Der Islam, XI, 156.

⁶ e.g. Diez, Chirāsanische Baudenkmäler (1918).

districts of Iran, under the Sasanids and under different Muslim¹ governments. It might have been possible, seeing these figures, to draw the conclusion that under Islam, the prosperity of the country, with the exception, perhaps, of some short spaces of time, was diminishing, the same deduction has been made on the base of similar statistical materials about other countries, for instance—Egypt². If, however, material culture can prosper without spiritual culture, it is more difficult to admit the possibility of a progress of spiritual culture, when the material culture is in a state of decay. Moreover, there is a whole series of records of the creation of great cities in Iran in Islamic times, and of the organisation of a new type of urban settlements with a market place in the centre³, such a market place was considered under the Aghemenids as a peculiarity of a Greek city quite unknown to the Persians⁴. The fact that the Arab conquest in Asia, contrary to the Germanic and Slavonic conquests in Europe, contributed to the increase of the number of cities, is recognised as well in literature as in world history⁵, but this phenomenon was considered characteristic solely of the Arab rule and was not extended to the periods of the rule of the Turks, or, especially, that of the Mongols. An opinion has been formulated that from the number of cities, which were destroyed by the Mongols, the greatest part either were not restored, or became pitiful hamlets; that in none of all these cities could either the number of the population or their wealth, or their industrial and commercial importance have been compared with their former magnificence⁶. In reality, the consequences of the Mongol ravages, like those of any other similar military invasions⁷, were not of a long duration, and did not prevent the appearance of several new big cities.

1 e.g. W. Barthold, "The Persian inscription on the wall of the Manucha—Mosque at Ani" (in Russian) 1911, 20 ff. Noteworthy is the fact quoted there regarding the words of a Persian author of the 14th c. who, in order to prove that "even the Seljug epoch was a period of decline as compared with the Sasanian epoch", substitutes gold for silver coins without changing the actual figures when calculating the revenues of the Persian king.

2 *Enz. des Islam*, II, 12 (unaufhaltsamer Rückgang) and 42 (mehr, als 1000 jähriger Niedergang).

3 *ZA.* XXVI, 254 ff.

4 Herodotus, I, 153.

5 Th. Lindner, *Weltgeschichte*, I, 223.

6 *Ibid.*, II, 98.

7 This is at present (1922) pointed out by Herzfeld, *Oriental Studies* presented to E. G. Browne, 198.

It is necessary to refrain when trying to appreciate the reasons why Iran was in a state of progress during the Islamic period, from taking into consideration, such imponderable factors, as the influence of religion and of racial intermixture. The most simple and evident reason of that progress is the width of the expanse conquered by Muslims and the historico-cultural ground of world-relations created by these conquests¹. For the first time, after Alexander, the North-Eastern regions of the former Achemenian state became again a part of a political union together with the rest of Iran; the Saghdian land was called "Upper Iran",² between that country and Western Persia more intimate cultural relations than ever before were established. In the West, the Syrian and Egyptian trade was directed towards the East, the Persian merchants availed themselves of that current to found many commercial colonies on the Red Sea and the Mediterranean³, although these emigrants lost very soon their nationality and language. The cultural unity of the Muslim world not only did not suffer from the political dissolution, which began in the 9th c. but became more intimate. In Iran itself, such obstacles as were impeding the liberty of development like the supremacy of an obsolete religion and the social organisation, sanctified by the same, were abolished.

The right understanding of all these processes is made more difficult for European scholars by the fact that they took place in quite different surroundings from those of the history of Europe. It is difficult for a European historian, even for an Orientalist⁴, to think of the progress of culture, especially material, without a corresponding progress in the polity; in reality, the Iranian polity of the Islamic period did not represent anything similar to such a grand phenomenon, as the Achemenian and the Sasanian empires. The Arabs followed in many things pre-Islamic Iran and availed themselves of the services of functionaries of Iranian origin. Well-known are the words attributed to the Caliph Sulaiman (715-717). "I admire these Persians; they reigned for one thousand years and never, not for one hour, did they stand in need of us; we ruled for a hundred years and not for one hour could we do without them." In another place, the following words are attributed to a

1 Zapissky, XVIII, suppl. 14 (the words of N. Y. Marr).

2 Fihrist, 18, 2.

3 About Tripoli (in Syria) BGA, VII, 327; about Aden and Yedda BGA, III, 96.

4 Cf. the example quoted by Kremer, *The Muslim World*, 76.

Persian nobleman¹, who addressed an Arab, governor of Khurasan, saying: "We, Persians, have been deriving from this world an income during 400 years², by means of moderation, intelligence and dignified conduct; we had neither eloquent Sacred Scriptures nor any (God)-sent prophet³." The political organisation of the Caliphate was not a reproduction of the Sasanian State, but its further development. When the dissolution of the Caliphate began, there appeared dynasties of Iranian origin; of all these dynasties, however, only to the founder of the Zyarid dynasty⁴ in the 10th c. is attributed the intention of possessing himself of Baghdad and of restoring Ktesiphon⁵ as a capital in order to declare himself henceforward "king of kings" (Shah-in-Shah). In the same century, the power of another of them, the Bawailid dynasty, was of longer duration⁶. The most powerful representative of this dynasty Adudu-d-Dowlah Fana-Khusrow (949-983) called himself on his coins—as also several other rulers of that dynasty—Shah-in-Shah, he was, very likely, the only Muslim king of Iranian origin, who dreamed of world-power. To him as to Alexander, and later on to Timur⁷, were attributed the words, "all the space of the world is too narrow for two kings."⁸ As early as in the 11th c. Iran was conquered in the East by the Seljuq dynasty. Since that time, it nearly always remained under the power of Turkish or Mongol dynasties; the dynasties of Iranian origin governed merely in isolated provinces, one of the most powerful of these dynasties was very likely that of the Muzaffarids in Fars and Kirman in the 11th c.⁹ Amongst the isolated Iranian rulers one of the most powerful, Kerim-Khan (1751-1779) came from a Kurdish tribe, the Zand, who ruled over the whole of Iran with the exception of Khurasan.

1 Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides, II, 57; transl., *ibid.*, préface, VII.

2 The period of the Sasanian rule is being had in view.

3 Tabari, II, 1636.

4 Stanley Lane-Poole, *Muhammadan Dynasties*, 112.

5 The Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate, I, 317 (text) IV, 358 (translation), Ibn-el-Athir, VIII, 226.

6 Stanley Lane-Poole, 115 ff.

7 About Timur, W. Barthold, "Ulughbek and his time" (in Russian) 33 ff.

8 Eclipse etc. III, 39 (text); VI, 36 (translation).

9 Stanley Lane-Poole, 209.

Dynasties of Turkish and Mongol origin including the Qajar dynasty, found very often support in the military strength of their tribesmen; but in the civil government, they availed themselves of the services of Iranians; many of them were patrons of literature and science. Some of these dynasties, like the Seljuqs in the 11th c. stood at the head of vast empires into which Iran entered as a part, but also in this case, it was difficult to establish the connection, common in the history of Europe, between the power of the rulers and the extent of commercial turn-overs of their subjects. According to an observation of the historian, Abu-Shuja, who lived in the most brilliant period of the Seljuq rule, the merchants were in the habit of issuing drafts for huge amounts and these drafts were honoured before drafts made out on the State revenues. From these words, it is possible to draw the conclusion that for the international trade, there existed a certain apparatus created by merchants themselves, which did not depend upon political changes¹. Anyhow the Muslim merchants penetrated into countries which were entirely outside the sphere of influence of any Muslim government. The trade was, as it seems, chiefly by barter. The political disorganisation could not but produce a depreciation of the coin; it is possible to trace back to the Muslim conquest before the 11th c. the continual deterioration of silver coins, and thus, in the beginning of the 11th c. the influx of Muslim silver coins (dirhams) into Eastern Europe ceased altogether; that silver crisis was gradually spreading from East to West, and ended in the West much earlier than in the East². The gold coins, dinars, were struck with greater care. In the 10th c. in the former Byzantine dominions, the gold currency still remained in force, whereas in the former Sasanian countries, the currency was silver. Iran went back to the gold currency system in the beginning of the 11th c. probably under the influence of the silver crisis. The Muslim dinar, obviously inherited the international importance of the Byzantine gold coin; there exists an opinion that the "besant" of Marco Polo was in reality the dinar³. But during the

1 Eclipse etc. III, 138 ff. (text) ; VI, 143 (translation).

2 W. Barthold, "The Islamic Culture" (in Russian) 80.

3 Travels of Marco Polo, translated (into Russian) by J. P. Miraez, p. 75. Cf. Yu'e, "The book of Ser Marco Polo 81, II, 592.

Mongolian period the minting of gold coins was again stopped and they reappeared only in the 18th c. The silver currency was re-established again in all the three Mongolian States, in Iran, Eastern Europe and Turkestan. In the 14th c. a uniform currency system was gradually introduced and the very word "dinar" came to be used as the name of a big silver coin, weighing originally three and in later times two ounces¹. It is not explained in what degree the development of commercial relations was furthered by that unity of currency; generally speaking, the economic history of the Muslim world, and especially that of Iran, has been very little studied. That, in the domain of financial relations Europe was under the influence not only of the Muslim world, in general, but also under the influence of Iran in particular is shown by the fact that the word "cheque" has been borrowed from Persia².

Iran, during the whole of the Muslim period, was only once conquered by a non-Muslim people, namely the Mongols, but the conquerors definitely embraced Islam thirty years later, after the death of the founder of the Mongolian state in Persia. At the present time, Persia has its own place in the Muslim world, because of all the Muslim countries, only in Persia, the Shia doctrine exists as a State religion—a doctrine according to which only the descendants of the Prophet's daughter Fatima and her husband Ali, are his lawful successors as spiritual guides of the Muslim community³. This connection between the Shia creed and the Iranian nationality was very often transferred back into the past by European investigators; they maintained that the Shia creed of Islam, from the very beginning was, a Persian form. Such an opinion does not correspond either to history, nor even to the present-day conditions⁴. Even in our days, the Arabs in Mesopotamia are much more fanatical Shias than the Persians⁵; in mediaeval times, we see an instance of the Shia creed being united with Arabian nationalism, in one and the same dynasty, that of the Mazyadids (11th to 12th c. c.)⁶. Nevertheless, the connection of the Shia creed with Iran took place as

1 W. Barthold, "The Persian inscription on the wall of the mosque at Ani," 18 ff.

2 W. Barthold, "The Muslim World," (in Russian) 25.

3 e. g. W. Barthold, "Islam" in Russian), 45.

4 e. g. Gobineau, "Les religions et les philosophes dans l'Asie Centrale," 5f ff.

5 e. g. Th. Lyell, "The Ins and Outs of Mesopotamia," 1913, 39 ff.

6 Stanley Lane-Poole, 37.

early¹ as in the first centuries of Islam, the well-known legend about the marriage of Husayn, son of Ali and Fatima², with the daughter of the last Sasanian King existed as early as in the 9th c. Besides that dynastic idea, the Shia creed was the religion of the lower classes of the people in some parts of Persia, from a very early period; under the standard of the Shia creed, many popular movements took place; but only in the beginning of the 16th c. did the Shia creed become definitely the State religion of Persia with the exception of a short interruption in the 18th c.

Of other religious phenomena, the mysticism or sufism was also not created by Iran, but received there its greatest development³. According to the statement of one of its investigators⁴, it is possible to take as a general rule that in Persia all the lyric poetry is permeated with mysticism, all the epic poetry with nationalism, and the dramatical works with (Shia) religious feeling. The connection between Shia creed and Sufyism was established later and manifested itself especially in the 16th c. in the period of the establishment in Persia of a Shia Government⁵; originally, that connection did not exist and the chief poets-Sufis were Sunnites⁶. The latest religious movements, known under the name of Bahism or Behaism might be understood merely in the light of Sufy doctrines⁷.

The establishment in Persia in the beginning of the 16th c. of a great empire was not only a local phenomenon. More or less at the same time, several other great Muslim powers were established; a strong and stable polity in general constitutes an essential distinction between the modern history of Muslim world and that of the Middle Ages. The scholar who was the first to note that distinction⁸ pointed out the only possible reason of such a phenomenon, viz, the introduction of firearms in Muslim countries under European influence. In that respect, as

1 About the title "King of the Arabs," see instance, Recueil etc, Sedjoudides, II, 102, 10, 1222; with regard to the national character of the battle of 1123; St. Lane Poole, Saladin, 36. On the Shi'a creed, G. Weil, Geschichte der Chalifen, III, 242; from Ibn-al-Athir, X, 439. On Shi'a fanaticism at Hilla, the ancient capital of the Mazyadids, W. Barthold, "A historico-geographical sketch of Iran" (in Russian) . 33.

2 Yaqubi, Thist., II, 293 and 363.

3 See for it e. g. W. Barthold "Islam" (in Russian) 55 ff.

4 F. Rosen in ZDMG, 76 (1922), 105.

5 W. Barthold in "The Islamic World," I, 369 (in Russian).

6 This was pointed out by E. G. Browne, "Lit-pist. of Persia," I, 437.

7 "The Islamic World" (in Russian) I, 423 ff.

8 E. Zachau in SPAW, 1922, 270 and 274.

well as in other things, the Muslim world, was, however unable to maintain itself on an equal level with the progress of culture in general. The political revival of Islam did not prevent cultural stagnancy and regress. The all-powerful and Shia Persia did not bring any new values either to Muslim or to universal culture, while as research work proceeds in all respects, the merits of mediaeval Iran are becoming more and more appreciated in spite of its political weakness and religious dissensions. The participation of persons of Iranian origin in the creation of scientific literature in the Arabian language¹, and the influence of the Baghdad-Persian culture² upon the culture of the Western, the African, Islam being more and more appreciated. When a Persian national literature was created, it was not Persians solely, who availed themselves of the same; if the Arabic language had for the Muslim world³ the same importance as Latin in Europe, the importance of the Persian language⁴ may be compared with that of the French language, or according to the view of modern investigator, Persian can be compared in that respect with both French and Italian. During the epoch of the Mamluks in Egypt, when that country was in no way politically dependent on Persia⁵, Persian terms in the State government were gradually substituted for the Arabic expressions and during the same period, as also earlier, the influence of Persian art upon Egyptian art is obvious⁶. Persia, much longer than the other dominions of Islam used to leave upon the Europeans the impression of being a highly cultured country, which in some degree might be compared with Europe⁷. The opinion of modern science is best of all expressed in the words of Becker that the Muslim East is obliged to the Greeks⁸ and the Persians for the best elements of its culture. That in which Muslim science differs from that of the Greeks, and which brings it nearer to the European science of today, viz, a greater attention than before to exact sciences as compared with humanistic sciences⁹,...might be attributed to the influence of India and Iran.

1 Cf. "The Islamic World" (in Russian), I, 240.

2 The words of C. H. Becker (ZA, XIX, 428).

3 W. Barthold, "The Muslim World," in Russian) 48.

4 F. Veit, in Stud Zur vergl. Literaturgeschichte VII, 391.

5 C. H. Becker CET, II, 16.

6 M. Van Berchem in "Milanges" H. Derenbourg (1909) 378.

7 "The Islamic World", I, 9. W. Barthold, "The Muslim Culture, 104 (in Russian).

8 "Der Islam," III, 294.

9 W. Barthold, "The Muslim World" 22 (in Russian).

Geography & Ethnography of Iran.

The "Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie"¹ contains a short geographical sketch of Iran, composed of (1) Bibliography, (2) an outline of physical geography; (3) an outline of political and economical geography, in the last section. Ancient and modern Iran are examined separately. Mediaeval Iran is left out altogether although the sources give about it more exact information than about ancient Iran. The study of the mediaeval geography of Iran from original sources is possible even in our days, but is more accessible to Arabists than to Iranists, because all the Muslim geographical works, even those compiled by Persians, were in preference written in Arabic. But at present, the number of works of that branch of science is considerable enough. In the bibliography of the "Grundriss" two of the earliest works, consecrated to the historical topography of Persia, are mentioned namely two works by W. Tomashek, 1883-1885². At the base of the first of these works³ lies an ancient original source—a Roman map of the 2nd c. A.D. preserved in a copy of the 12th c.⁴ but in that work also the details supplied by the Arab geographers have the greater place. The second article⁵ deals with the information supplied by the Arab geographers regarding the routes through the Central Iranian desert, which separates the Western cultured regions from the Eastern part of the country, and compares this information with the itineraries of recent travellers.

This attempt, practically the first one in that direction, to compare the mediaeval descriptions of Iran, with those of the present day, brought the conviction that there were no real alterations in the physico-geographical conditions since the time of the Arab geographers, and that for the

1 Grundriss, II, 371-395. About this edition see above p. 7.

2 Both these works under a common title "Zur historischen Topographie von Persien" were published in "Sitzungsberichte" of the Vienna Academy of Sciences SCW, vols 102 and 108.

3 Die Strassenzüge der Tabula Peutingeriana.

4 A. Schäfer, Abriss der Quellenkunde der griechischen und römischen Geschichte, 2, II, 178.

5 Die Wege durch die persische Wüste.

phenomenon of the surface changes of the earth, including the process of drying up of the seas, a thousand years represent a space of time of no account. The possibility of extending that deduction to the earlier period encounters some difficulty owing to the scarcity of information in the works of ancient authors, and of their still lesser authenticity. In favour of that supposition, are, however, above all, the words of Polybius (X, 28,3) about the existence in Persia even under the Achemenids of subterranean canals conveying water to the field from such a distance that the inhabitants themselves did not know exactly where the source of every canal was to be found¹. These canals represent still in our days a characteristic peculiarity of Persia, where they are called "kariz". Travellers describe one kind of those common in Persia, especially near big cities, a series of conical heaps with wells in the centre extending from the mountains down to the plains, the wells are connected by subterranean galleries². The construction these canals is necessary on account of the scarcity of water and the consequent necessity of diminishing the area of evaporation. The existence of such a complicated system requiring for its construction, a great amount of work³, as far back as under the Achemenids, points to the fact that the amount of water in that remote time in Persia was as scarce as nowadays, when, as we see from the account of Ferrier⁴, all along from Kermanshah, the capital of Persian Kurdistan, upto the frontier river Herirud in the East, he had nothing but mere streams to cross.

In such a country as Persia, where the agriculture, in the plains at least, is possible only under the condition of artificial irrigation the life in the plains is strictly dependent upon the water supply from the mountains. Therefore, the conditions for increasing the area of irrigation are most favourable in regions in the neighbourhood of snow summits; such conditions exist in the country to the South of the Elburz range and of the volcano Demavend where the Persian capital Tehran is situated at present and where in all times, the most important cities had their seat (in ancient times Raghae in the middle ages—Ray and later Varamin.) The streams are taken for irrigation mostly immediately at the place where they issue from the hills; the interior part of the Iranian tableland, the most distant

1 L. Berg in *Zemlevedenie*," 1911, 80; in Russ.) W. Barthold "Notes on the history of the irrigation in "Turkestan," 7 (in Russian).

2 A. H. S. Landare, *Across coveted lands*, 1902, I 75.

3 E. E. Skorniakov, in "Asiatic Russia" (in Russ.) II, 240.

4 I. P. Ferrier, *Voyages et aventures en Perse etc*, 1870 (Travels in 1845-6), I, 269.

from the hills represents, therefore, a desert devoid of life. It is becoming more and more narrow in the direction from North to South, because the hills which divide the Western part of the Iranian tableland extend from the North-West to the South-West.

At the present time, such deserts are called in Persia "kayir" About the etymology of this word different opinions have been expressed¹. In the geography of the ancients, a big desert called the "Kermanian"² is quite briefly mentioned from the name of the region adjacent to it on the South-West; Marco Polo³, the first of European authors, gives a detailed description of that desert. The same desert is also described in detail by the Arab geographers but is called the Khurasanian from the name of a region adjoining it from the North-East; the Arab information about the routes traversing the desert give an exact statement about its extent and its importance in the geography of Iran. The division of Iran into Eastern and Western regions is founded on the presence of this desert, the historico-cultural difference between these two parts is determined moreover by two facts, both alike indubitable though at first they seem to be hardly compatible with each other; by the cultural slackness of Eastern Iran as compared with the Western part of the country, which geographically stands nearer to the aboriginal centre of culture—Mesopotamia and by the development in Eastern Iran, under the influence of its relations with India and with the Far East of a culture independent of Asia-Minor, but which later exercised an influence upon the later regions⁴.

In ancient times, especially before Alexander, when there were no relations with the Far East, and those with India were much more slack than afterwards, the cultural slowness of Eastern Iran was pre-eminent, and still more remarkable, because of the physico-geographical⁵ conditions in the Eastern regions, which are generally speaking, more favourable for the development of culture, than those in the West. As a matter of fact

1 W. Barthold, *A historico-geographical sketch of Iran*, 93, (in Russian).

2 A. Forbiger, *Handbuch der Alten Geographie* 2, II, 533 and 550, the expression "eremos tes Karmania" e. g. in Strabo, 724.

3 Translated into Russian by V. P. Minaev, 55.

4 W. Barthold in the "Journal of the Russian Academy of the history of material Culture, II, 361.

5 Cf. especially the words of Strabo (57f) quoted by Barthold "A historico-Geographical sketch of Iran," 4.

the hill ranges of North Western Afghanistan, known by the Greeks under the general name of "Paropamisus" reach in some places the line of eternal snows; farther eastwards, the Hindukush, which forms a watershed between the basins of the Amu-Darya, and the Indus, reaches a still greater altitude. At the present day Afghanistan is in consequence irrigated by rivers, more abounding in water than Persia. The great primitiveness of life in those regions is also shown by the fact that one and the same name, denoted, at the same time, a river, a region, a capital, a people. Such words as *Baktros* (river) *Baktria* or *Baktriane* (Region), *Baktra* (town) *Baktros*, *Baktroi* or *Baktriano*i (people) differ one from the other, probably merely by their Greek terminations. In our days, to designate the river, the word "*ab*" (water) (*Balkhab*) is added to the name of the town: Balkh; in the spoken language, that addition was obviously not always made, because it is very often dropped. The ancient name of the *Amu-Darya-Wakhsh* is preserved at present in the name of one of its chief tributaries; a region situated along the river Wakhsh (nowadays the plain of Kurghan Tuba) was called Wakhsha. The conception of Bactrians, as an ethnographical unity, was lost long before Islam. The mediaeval geographers were acquainted with the word "Tokharistan" (since then grown obsolete) derived from the name of the Tokhar people, i.e. the conquerors of Bactria mentioned by the Greek authors. Under Tokharistan, in the strictest sense of the word was understood a region to the East of Balkh to the South of Amu-Darya¹, in a wide sense, the region situated on the upper tributaries of the Amu-Darya, along both sides of its chief channel; one Arab historian writes about Balkh as "the city of Tokhar" i.e. obviously of the Tokhars, nevertheless, the representatives of the Arab geographical science had no longer any idea about the Tokhars, as a people, nor about the original ethnographical sense of the term "Tokharistan."

The same might be said about the majority of other geographical terms; in the Islamic period, it is impossible to find a recollection to prove that the name of a river or a country had earlier also an ethnographical sense. The river Herirud (*rud* means a river) is the ancient Arya, the same word *Harī* is sometimes used to designate the city of Herat (Harat) from the same root, in ancient times in the same manner a people was called "Aryan" (Haraiva). The ancient Hyrcania (*Velrkana*) was called in

¹ Beladsori, 408 (above).

the middle ages. Gurgan (in the Arabic transcription Jurjan) the city was called in the same way; nowadays, this name is preserved only to designate the river Gurjan (the Turkoman pronunciation of the word). The word "Parthians" (*parthava*) had solely an ethnographical meaning; there was neither a river, nor a town of that name. The Muslims were acquainted with the word "Pahlavi" as a name of the middle-Persian literary language; the name Tahla or Tahlan (by means of "F" the Arabs express the sound "P") is mentioned as a geographical term; but this term belongs entirely to ancient Media, not to Parthia¹. Thus it seems that only the Northern, not the Eastern origin of the term, "Pahlavi," was known to the Arabs. To designate the ancient Parthia is used, as a geographical term the word "Khurasan"—the only remnant, which has been preserved of the division of the Sasanian State according to the four cardinal points in Apahar (North) Nimrur (South) Harbaran (West) and Khurasan (East). The western frontier of Khurasan has undergone more alterations than that between Parthia and Media. There is no natural frontier because the route from Khurasan westward follows the Southern declivity of the hills to the North of the desert. The mountain pass, called in ancient times, "the Caspian Gates" and considered as one of the most important strategical points is seldom mentioned in mediaeval military history on account of its small interest. The boundaries of Khurasan in the North-East extended farther than at present, and coincided in the pre-Islamic period with the boundaries of the Sasanian State and under the Omayyads and Abbasids, with the boundaries of the Caliphate. In the latter case, Khurasan in its proper sense, was distinguished from the country situated on the other side of the river (in Arabix Mavarannahr) i.e. the regions on the other side of the Amu-Darya.

During the Islamic period the name "South" was used sometimes (Nimruz) to denote the ancient Draygiana, the region along the river Hilmand (*Haetumant* of the Awesta, Hindmaad, Hidmaud and Hirmand² in the Middle Ages), the richest as to the volume of water of all the rivers between basins of the Tigris and the Indus, which takes its source in the eternal snow of the hills. In spite of its abundance, the water of the Hilmand in its delta is almost entirely exhausted for the purposes of irrigation and it forms with other rivers only some small reservoirs very often in a drying-up state. The name "Dryagiana" is of an ethnographical origin; its population

1 Especially "Fihrist" B, 3. Cf. the controvertible proofs adduced by J. Marquart who bases himself on other texts, ZDMY, 49, 630.

2 About these names J. Marquart in the "Philologus," I.V. 235.

is called by the Greeks Dranghas or Saranghas (in the inscriptions of Darius Zaranka), a remnant of this name in the Islamic period was the name of the capital of the district Zaranj to the East of the chief channel of the Hilمند¹. Of course, no information with regard to the ethnographical origin of this name was preserved. Shortly before the beginning of the Christian era, Dranghiana was conquered by the nomadic Sakas and was called by them Sakistan, at present Seistan. (in the Middle Ages Sejistan). The origin of this name was also lost already in the middle Ages. In ancient times between Dranghiana and India, a region of the name of Arachosia (in the Avesta-*Harachvat*, in the inscriptions of Darius *Harauvatish*) was supposed to exist. The Muslims mention the region Arruhaj or Arruhad solely as a part of Seistan within, which, as in ancient times, within Arachosia, were included the region up to the Indus in the East and in the South the Northern part of Modern Baluchistan. Arachosia was inhabited by a distinct tribe (the Arachots of the Greeks, the name of the chief river was Arachot probably the Arghandab, the chief tributary of the Hilمند).

Dranghiana and Arachosia bordered upon Arya (there was no natural frontier) and in the same way, as the Northern frontier of Seistan, in the Islamic period, this frontier also was differently defined; but between them and Bactria there was the hilly region of the Paropamisus, the inhabitants of which were known as the Paropamisians or Poropamisads; that region extended also up to the Indus. The Muslim authors speak about the mountain region Ghar from where the Harirud and the Hilمند took their source; the population of this region formed a separate ethnographical unit, and on account of the inaccessibility of their country became subject to Islam somewhat later than its neighbours. In the 12th c. there arose in Ghor a strong Muslim dynasty, which conquered the neighbouring regions and founded in its native hills a magnificent capital, Firuzkuh (nowadays supposed to be the ruins of Faivar on the upper Hilمند.) To the North of Ghor, on the upper Murghab was situated the region Garch or Garchistan (originally from the local Iranian words "gar" a mountain and "garcha" a highlander, hence the modern "galcha" as the natives of Turkestan usually call the hill tribes of the upper part of the Zaraf-Shan, the Pamir districts, etc.)

To the East of the basin of the Hilمند, is situated, the last of the interior basins of Iran, the basin of the lake, Ab-i-Istada (literally 'stagnant water'). On the river Ghazna, which falls into that lake, is situated a city of

1 About the ruins of Zaranj (nowadays

the same name; which was for some time in the 11th and 12 cc. the capital of a powerful dynasty which conquered a part of India. In Persian sources the corresponding country bears the name of Zabulistan, thus called obviously from the name of a nation which had disappeared in later times. In the Arabic geographical literature, that name is not mentioned. The region of Ghazna in the East and in the North adjoins the basin of the Indus, namely the hill countries of the Western tributaries of this river, i. e., the native country of the Afghan people, mentioned under this name for the first time in the 11th c. but attaining its political importance only in the 18th c.

The Afghans never called themselves by this name, the origin of which is quite unknown. The popular name of the Afghans is Pashtun or Pakhtun, in the plural Pashtana, or Pakhtana. They have been connected with the Paktias of Herodotus, against that the object has been made that the form with *sh* is older than that with *kh* in the present day language¹. The difference between the Southern dialect (with *sh*) and the Northern (with *kh* in the valley of the Kabul-Darya) is determined in our days by the alternation of the sounds *sh* and *kh*. The word Afghanistan, as the name of the land of the Afghans, is mentioned for the first time in the 14th c., but received its present meaning only little by little, according as the Afghans proceeded with their conquests. In the Middle Ages in the boundaries of the present Afghanistan, some independent dynasties had now and then their capitals (Ghazna, Firuzkuh, Herat) in the 16th c. all these regions were divided between the Safavids of Persia, the great Moghuls of India and the Uzberks of Turkestan. A historian of Nadir Shah (1736-1717) already refers to the frontier of the "Kingdoms of Persia and of India", as passing between Qandahar and Ghazna, in a place called Mukur². Thus the Afghan state as such, has been created solely by certain events of modern history.

As opposed to the term Afghanistan, the term Baluchistan, which appears only in modern history, has only a geographical and ethnographical, but not a political meaning. The Baluchis are a South-Iranian nation, which gradually moved from the West to the East during the middle Ages and in modern times, the geographers of the 19th c. are chiefly acquainted with the Baluchis to the West of Kerman, between Kerman and Fars,

¹ M. Longworth Dames in the ET, I, 158.

² The History by Mahdi-Khan, Tabriz edition, 115.

where they lived in the hills. They are always mentioned with another hill-tribe—the Kufichi (in Arabic—Kufs) ; information exists, however, about Baluchis, who lived on the North Western frontier of the present Baluchistan¹.

In course of time, a great number of the Baluchis emigrated to the East and gave their name to all the land inhabited by them, although nowadays the **Brahins**, a people of Dravidian origin (all the pre-Aryan aborigines of India are Dravidians) are living side by side with the Baluchis. The Brahins lived in the 10th c. in the North-Western part of Baluchistan near the city of Kandahil (at present Gandava); they occupy in our days the whole of the central part, with Kelat as capital, and form a kind of wedge between the two branches of the Baluchis—the North-Eastern and the South-Western divisions. As the capital was in their possession, the Brahins, until British influence in that country was definitely established, were the domineering people in this region: but nowadays they seem to be less attached to their nationality and their mother-tongue than the rest of the population and the unavoidable disappearance of the Brahni language is considered to be merely a question of time². The region to the South of Dranghiana and Arakhasia, down to the sea was called in ancient times Gedrasia, in middle Ages—Mekran. The first name was, obviously, given to this region, from its Iranian population and the second from its Dravidian inhabitants³.

The climatic conditions were always more or less the same as nowadays. In spite of its maritime situation, Mekran is almost never subjected to the influence of sea breezes and has a very dry climate. There are hardly any rivers having a supply of water all through the year. The population was always composed of Iranian, Dravidian and Indian elements. In modern times, Mekran was politically part of India upto 1621, when it was conquered by the Persians. The frontier between Persia and Afghanistan was recently revised twice by the British, first by the commission of Goldsmith (1872-73), then by the commission of Holditch (1895-96). Geographically, however, the land between the Southern limits of Seistan and the Sea may be hardly considered, even nowadays as

¹ Namely in Ibn-Khordadbeh, BGA, VI, texte 55, 6, trad, 37.

² E. Hultzsch in ZDMG, 65 (1911), 149.

³ W. Barthold, A historico-geographical sketch of Iran, 99 ff.

sufficiently explored¹. Only one port in Mekran is mentioned in the middle Ages, viz, Fiz. The ruins of its fortress are preserved up till now in the vicinity of the port of Chahbar, which is, however, on Persian territory. Even in our days, Chahbar is considered to be the best part of Mekran and was destined to become the head of the Trans-Iranian railway, which Russia had the intention to construct at some time.

The history of the Iranian lands, situated to the West of the great desert, is determined in ancient times, by the difference between North and South, between Medians and Persians. This distinction has nothing in common with the climatic conditions mentioned in the Arabic geographical literature as the "cold" regions where wheat is cultivated and the "hot" regions where date-palms can grow and bear fruit. It is impossible to trace a dividing line between these climatically different regions, because the climatic conditions are influenced, not only by the geographical latitude, but also by the elevation of the different parts of the region. The ethnographical, or, later, when the ethnographical distinction had disappeared, the administrative demarcation-line between the Southern and the Northern regions was always considerably more to the North, than the climatic one, and in ancient times, still more to the North than in the Middle Ages. The district of Ispahan, which never belonged to Fars in the Middle Ages, entered into the composition of Persia proper in ancient times.

It is possible to establish, as a general rule, that the South had more importance in the political history of Iran, the North, in its cultural history. We saw that the Median form of Zoroastrianism gradually became the state religion of Iran. But the political power of the Median kings was less durable and stable, for although they destroyed the Assyrian realm of the end of the 7th century B. C. some 50 years later, they had to cede their supremacy to the Achaemenian dynasty, which issued from Fars. The polity, as well in Media as in Persia, was formed under the influence of the Western neighbours of Iran. It is characteristic that the Eastern capital of Media, Raghæ (Ray of the Middle Ages, at present ruins to the south-east of Tehran) closely connected with the name of

1 Cf. in recent times (1900-1) the journey of N. A. Zarudny the (Imperial Geographical Society, 38, 1902, 127-170); more in detail in the Proceeding of the geographical Society, on General geographic, 50 (1916, 74-369.)

Zoroaster, had almost no political importance at all, whilst, Hamatana, the western capital, constructed by the Median kings, the Agbatana or Ekbatana of the Greeks, Hamastan, is not mentioned in the Avesta and had no religious importance. The name Media (in Iranian *Mada*) ceased to exist long before the appearance of Islam. The mediaeval term Man is considered to be the modification of the same, but it was applied only to one of the Western districts of ancient Media, from the Hulwan Pass down to the environs of Hamadān¹.

The region Jital, literally "hills" corresponds to ancient Media, more than any other of the regions mentioned by the Arab geographers. By its name, it corresponds to the ancient Paretakene as were called also the hill regions of Afghanistan and Turkestan (from *pouruta* Sansk. *parvata* "hills"). But the Greeks understood, under Paretakene only, the Northern part of Fars, which sometimes was considered as belonging to Media, and the Arabs understood under the name Jibal (in Persian "Kuhistan" as was also called a region to the East of the desert in the South-Western corner of Khorasan)—almost the whole of Media. In course of time, when in the Muslim period, Ray and Ispahan became great cities, which were very little inferior to the cities of Babylonia, as regards their size, wealth and cultural importance. Jibal was considered as a second "Iraq" (the Arabic designation of Babylonia) and, in order to distinguish it from the original or Arabic Iraq, it was called (from the 12th c. onwards) Iraq of Persia (Iraq-i Ajam.)

Since the time of Alexander, the northern part of ancient Media constituted a separate district and a Median, named Atropat, was appointed its governor, but after the death of Alexander, he became an independent ruler and was able to transmit the power to his descendants. From his name, the district over which he held sway began to be called—Atropatene amongst the Greeks, Atrpatakan in Armenian—at present Azarbaijan. The origin of this name was early forgotten and thus already the Muslim authors were not aware of its origin. Later on, both during the Islamic period and under Islam, Azarbaijan occupied quite a special place in the history of Persia. All the narratives of the life of Zoroaster are connected with Azarbaijan. In Ganzoka, the capital of pre-Islamic Azarbaijan (nowadays the ruins of Takht-i-Sulaiman to the south of lake Urmiah) was the chief Zoroastrian temple. The Iranian dialect of Azarbaijan (Azari) is mentioned as a special language obviously a literary

¹ S. Marquart, Eranschahr, 18.

one. There exists an opinion that in this language was composed the most ancient commentary on the Avesta¹. Since the 11th c. the Turks, who came from Central Asia with the dynasty of the Seljuqs began to settle in Azarbaijan, and in this way, gradually that district became quite Turkish. After the Mongol invasion, Tabriz, a city, which arose under Islam, became one of the most populous amongst the cities of Iran. The Azarbaijan Turks gave several dynasties to Persia, amongst others the Safavi dynasty by whom the Shia Persia of today was built up (the ruling dynasty of the Qajars is also of Turkish origin). In the 20th c. the chief workers of the Persian revolution issued from Azarbaijan. The Turkish language of Azarbaijan became the chief language of the Muslims of Transcaucasia and hence, after the revolution of 1917, there appeared in Russian territory an Azarbaijan republic, although the original Azarbaijan did not enter into its composition and still remains the same Persian province, as before.

The motherland of the Persian nation—Fars, still bears up to our days, the name of this nation (Parsa, the Arabic *f* represents the sound *p*, which does not exist in the Arabic written language.) Under the influence of the written language, that Arabic form passed over into the spoken language, generally even without the addition of the suffix *istan*. The form "Farsistan" one can see on maps is almost never used either in the colloquial language or in literature. The Southern part of Fars belongs to the basin of the Indian Ocean. In history the Northern regions, that is those belonging to the Iranian internal basins, had always a greater importance viz., those of the basin of the lake Bakhtegan, where the ruins of two ancient capitals Pasargadae and Persepolis are situated, and those of the basin of the late Mahatu, where Shiraz, the present capital of Fars, is situated, which arose under the Arabs, in the beginning of the 8th c.

The Persians were divided into several tribes, like other Iranian nations. The tribe, from which Cyrus and other rulers of the Achaemenian dynasty were issued, was called Pasargadae; the city which contained the palace and the tomb of Cyrus, bore the same name. The exact situation of the site of that city is doubtful. It has been concluded on the authority of several well-known sources, that Pasargadae was situated more to the south than the city of Darius and his successors, which was

1 S. Marquart, *Eranschahr*, 123, footnote 5.

called by the Greeks, "Persepolis"¹, but at the present day, it is possible to consider, as proved that the ruins on the northern part of the valley of the Pulwar (or Murghab) river are the remnants of the city of Cyrus, whilst the ruins of Persepolis are in the southern part of the same valley. These ruins, particularly those of Persepolis, are without any doubt whatever, the grandest monuments of the historical past of Persia, preserved on the surface of the earth, and it is, therefore, that both popular tradition and European investigators have attached to them such great importance². There is, however, no reason to suppose that any capital, in our sense of the word, that is a centre of administrative and cultural life, ever existed on the site of these ruins. Achaemenian buildings and bas-reliefs, as well as Achaemenian tombs were nothing more than a tribute of esteem to their original native country and had, therefore, a merely decorative character. The kings themselves lived in Susa, where they received foreign envoys, amongst others Greeks. It is characteristic that the Greeks, before Alexander obviously did not know anything about even the existence of Persepolis. In the Sasanian epoch also, in spite of the existence of these buildings and bas-reliefs by the side of those of the Achaemenian period and of their buildings in other cities of Fars—Ktesiphon on the Tigris, was the only capital of the State. Muslim Shiraz had a somewhat greater importance in the life of Persia. Two rulers who held under their sway the greater part of Persia, if not the whole land—Adud-ad Dowlah in the 10th c. and Karim-Khan in the 18th c. made Shiraz their capital (Shiraz of our days is chiefly a creation of Karim Khan). After the Mongol invasion, Shiraz, which has not suffered from the Mongol devastations, became for some time the principal centre of Persian culture. The cities of Fars and of the Southern provinces in general, are much inferior to the Northern cities as regards their commercial importance and the number of their inhabitants. That is why certain British politicians considered the Anglo-Russian treaty of 1907,

1 Hence the discrepancies between the "Map of Persia" ("the ruins of Pasargadae" to the North of "the ruins of Persepolis") and the map of the Persian Monarchy ("Pasargadae to the South" of Persepolis) in Brockhens and Efron's Encyclopaedia, the article, "Persia."

2 The most circumstantial description of the same is—Fr. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, Berl. 1910, on Pasargadae, before that, also E. Herzfeld "Klio," VIII (1908). 1—68 On Persepolis see also, for example, Th. Nöldeke in the Aufsätze *Zur pers. Geschichte*, 135—149.

by which Northern Persia became a sphere of exclusively Russian influence, as unprofitable for Great Britain¹.

The coast of the Persian Gulf, including the Strait of Hormuz, had more importance in the life of Persia than that of the Indian Ocean. It possessed several sea ports, which had a considerable importance for the sea-trade with India and China, but the supremacy passed over from one seaport to another; for various reasons, of the two seaports of our days Bender-Abbas arose only in the 17th c. and Bushire, in the 18th c. From the beginning of the 16th c. upto the year 1622 the Island of Hormuz, which in that time belonged to the Portuguese, was the chief commercial centre. Its fortress, constructed by the Portuguese is, according to one of the more recent Russian travellers, "one of the greatest monuments of antiquity in Persia, after the palace of Darius in Persepolis,"² The monuments of the remotest past are preserved in the islands of Kharag³, which, for some, time belonged to the Dutch and Kais, or Kish, which was one of the principal centres of the sea-trade in the Middle Ages, and possessed for a period of 300 years (10th to 13th c.) a ruling dynasty of its own⁴. In those times, a wealthy city was standing on that island. It was under the power of the rulers of Fars, in the 13th and 14th cc. Later on it was abandoned by its inhabitants. The cause and the time of this event are not established, even by the author of the history of Shiraz, compiled in the 19th century⁵. Generally speaking, it is not explained up to our days, for what reason, the supremacy in the sea-trade, in the Persian gulf and the Indian Ocean, passed from the Persians to the Arabs, after the Mongolian invasion, whilst in the 10th century, even the seaport Sakhar, in Arabia, was in the hands of the Persians⁶. In more modern times, even Persian towns on the coast, like Bunder-Abbas and Chahbar, often passed into the power of the Arabs and only in the reign of Nasir-ed-Din Shah (1848-1896) was the power of the Shah of Persia re-established in those parts.

1 Cf. the map of that delimitation in Eder, Gr. Browne, the Persian Revolution, 1910, facing page 172, with a description of the two Zones of influence.

2 A collection of geographical materials relative to Asia, LXV (Tumansky, From the Caspian Sea to the Strait of Hormuz and back), 1896, 111 (in Russian).

3 Iranische Felsreliefs, 64 ff.

4 The history by Wassâf, lithogr. edit., 170 ff; 175, reference to the work by Imam Sa'd-ad-Din Arshâd, which deals with the history of that dynasty.—

5 Hurmuzji, Tarikh-i-Shirâz, 1276 (1859-60).—

6 BGA, III, 92, 11 u 96, 11.

The present Kirman, mentioned as a separate district for the first time, in the documents relative to the campaign of Alexander (Karmania) was originally a part of Persia proper. It is supposed that to that district refer the words of the Behistan inscription of Darius, regarding the land *Yutiya* in Persia, where the pretender Vah-Yazdata was successful and the population of which were the *Utiai* of Herodotus (iii-93), belonging together with the inhabitants of Mekran Dranghiana etc., to the 14th Satrapy and that the exclusion of that district from Persia proper (which did not pay any taxes) and the inclusion in a tax-paying region was meant as a punishment for that rebellion¹. It is perhaps, more likely that Godrosia and Kirman were inhabited by the Persian tribes, called Herodotus (i, 125), *Derusioi* and *Germanioi*. The northern districts of Kerman were quite different from its southern part, like those of Fars; as regards their climatic conditions, the life was generally concentrated, and remains thus even in our days, in the Northern districts, now and then, the mediaeval capital of Southern Kerman *Yiruft*² (Kamady of Marco Polo, so called after the name of its commercial suburb *Kamadin*) was considered as the biggest city in the whole district³. Now, on its former site, heaps of old bricks and fragments of broken vessels, may still be seen. The litoral of Kerman, and particularly the district *Kashaïrd*, to the East of the route from *Yiruft* towards the sea, even upto our days, is less influenced by culture, than the rest of the district. That land was inhabited in the Middle Ages by the *Kufchis* (in Arabic *Kufs*) a nation of obviously Dravidian origin. Europeans were very little acquainted with this land from the geographical point of view, upto the second half of the 19th. c. Even on modern maps, the small river *Hatil* (Divrud of the Middle Ages) on which *Yiruft* is situated after having joined the *Bampur*, which flows from *Baluchistan*, falls into the Indian Ocean. In reality, however, those rivers fall into the marsh-lake *Zaz-Morian*, which is marked on the map annexed to *Tomaschek's* article, although the size of that lake on *Tomaschek's* map is smaller than it is in reality. The land to the south of the lake is left on the same map, quite empty⁴. P. M. Sykes calls himself the first European who visited (in 1898) the village *Ramishk* situated there.

1 Y. Marquart, *Eranschahr*, 30.

2 Thus *Ibn-Khordadbeh* (BGA., VI, 49, 2 text; translation), p. 34; quoted by P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, III, 240.—

3 P. M. Sykes, *Ten thousand miles in Persia or eight years in Iran*, (1902), 267.—

4 P. M. Sykes, *Ten thousand miles in Persia*, 1902, 306.—

In the Middle Ages, Kerman existed at times as an independent state, and then was governed by its own separate dynasty, but it had no influence upon the political life of the other districts of Iran.

Khuzistan, a borderland of Iran, situated to the West of Fars, was never entirely Iranian, as regards its population. The ancient capital of that district was called by the Greeks Suza (properly Susi), in Arabic Sus. The Greek name of its population was Uzai, in the inscriptions of Darius Kuvaja, hence in later time, *Khuz* (the sound *kh* takes the place of the initial *s* in foreign words, see above p. 5) Khuzistan, even before the Persians submitted to the influence of Babylonian culture and accepted the Assyro-Babylonian cuneiform writing. The kings, who ruled there have left inscriptions in a language, which was neither Semitic nor Aryan. The same language as it is seen in the inscriptions of Cyrus, Darius and their successors, in its modern dialect, was one of the three literary languages of the Achaemenian monarchy, and occupied the second place after the Persian language, but before the Babylonian. It seems it can be explained by the fact that Khuzistan was the first cultured region, conquered by the Persians, before their victory over the Medians. No inscriptions are to be found in this language from the period following upon Alexander; but the Khuzian language, which was neither Hebrew, nor Syriac, nor Persian, existed as a colloquial language¹, as late as the Muslim period in the 10th c. Although there were no people using solely this language, everybody spoke also Persian and Arabic. The language of the second system of the Achaemenian inscriptions belongs to the so-called 'Yaphetic' group, and is closely related to the Caucasian languages². Amidst the types of the population, there are preserved up to our days, not only the Semitic and the Iranian types, but also the Ancient-Elamite (Elam is the Semitic name for Khuzistan) and Dravidian³. The Greeks understood under the name Uxai only robbers, highlanders of the Eastern border land of Khuzistan; but it is obviously the same word, as the Iranian Khuz, in the Arabic plural, Ahwaz. Thus (originally Suqal-Ahduaz, i.e. the market of the Khuzians") was the name of the city on the river Karun (at

1 BGA, I, 91.—

2 N. Y. Marr, A definition of the language of the second category in the Achaemenian cuneiform inscriptions on the base of the data offered by Yaphetic philology (*Zapiski! XXII, 31-106*) (in Russian).—

3 H. Gräbe, *Geographische Charakterbilder aus der Asiatischen Türkei*, 1909, XCVI (No 168) and XCVII (No 169).—

present a tributary of the Shatt-al-Arab, the joint estuary of the Tigris and the Euphrates, in earlier times, the Karun discharged itself independently into the Persian gulf), which was in the 10th century, the chief town of the whole district. Tuster or Shushter, situated on the same river, was the biggest city of Khuzistan in the 13th century, as well as it is now a-days.

At present Khuzistan, or at least its plains, continuous with the Persian gulf, is more often designated by the name of Arbistan. The Arabs, who settled there, were mostly Bedouins. They contributed a great deal to the decay of its culture, which was, in a flourishing state during the Sasanian period, and in the first centuries of Islam, when the sugar cane was cultivated there, a highly developed textile manufacture existed in the cities and there were Universities with rich libraries. In the political life of Iran, Khuzistan did not play any important role, after the Achemenian period. Even in Suza, the Achemenian capital, there are no traces on the surface of the earth of any buildings, and thus, the actual capital of the Persian kings contrarily to the decorative capital Persepolis was altogether forgotten in popular tradition. In modern times, Suza became the chief centre of archaeological excavations of the French, who obtained from the Persian Government, according to the treaties of 1895 and 1900 an exclusive and perpetual right (*droit exclusif et perpetual*) to undertake excavations on the whole length and breadth of Persia¹. The object of these excavations was not so much a further investigation of the Achemenian monuments discovered before (amongst them the palaces of Darius and Artaxerxes II)² as a hope of new discoveries in the domain of the most ancient culture of Hittite Asia.

The nomadic and semi-nomadic highlanders in the districts, along the former (upto 1918) frontier between Turkey and Persia were originally, it would seem, of non-Iranian extraction. Those highlanders spoke an Iranian tongue already in the Islamic period, and were known to the Arabs by the general name "Kurd", plur. "krad". From the linguistic point of view, the present-day highlanders, who live exclusively on the Persian territory and call themselves Lurs and Bakhtiars, are those old Kurds. The Lurs are mentioned in the Middle Ages. Their district Luristan was governed from time to time by independent dynasties. The dynasty of the Hazaraspid (12th-14th cc.) subjected to its power also

¹ Materials for the study of the East published by the Russian Foreign Office ("confidential"), fasc 2, 1915 suppl. IV (in Russian).—

² B. Turaev, A history of the Ancient East; 2, II, 214.

several neighbouring regions¹. The word "Bakhtiar" was not known in the Middle Ages; and it is not certain when it was mentioned for the first time. The Bakhtiars occupy the most Eastern part of the hill-district, which used to be called in the Middle Ages, the "Great Lur". The popular name "Shul" which has now disappeared, is also mentioned in the Middle Ages; from that name a part of the hill-regions, which was one of the border districts of Fars, was called Shulistan. The land of the Kurds, in the proper sense of the word², is called Kurdistan, a distinction is made between the Turkish Kurdistan, with its capital Diarbekr, and the Persian Kurdistan, with its chief town Kermanshah. A small number of Kurds live on Russian territory but the bulk of them remain in Turkey. Diverse rulers formed very often military detachments, consisting of Kurds, and of other warlike nomads. The chiefs of these detachments attained sometimes a certain political power and founded dynasties. But as a nation, the Kurds had no political life³. Authors of Kurdish origin wrote very seldom in their own language; in the literature of other languages, the Kurds were spoken of as an "incarnation of everything opposed to culture."⁴ The merits of the Kurdish national poetry have been, however, mentioned⁵ with appreciation and the hope has been expressed that in proportion to the progress of settled life, among the Kurds, their undeniable innate talents would find a better opportunity for development than before⁶.

There remain to be mentioned the regions situated on the southern coast of the Caspian sea, which differ considerably from the other districts of Iran, both by their climatic conditions; instead of the scarcity of water experienced elsewhere, there is an excess of humidity, and by the type of their population and the garments worn by them. Besides, the mountain-ranges, which occupy the Northern border of the Iranian tableland, the access to these regions has always been difficult on account of the dense forests, in which this part of Persia abounds. A roadway was constructed

1 St. Lane-Poole, *Muhamm. dynasties*, travel by W. Barthold, 147; a passage has been omitted (by mistake) in the translation which was noticed by Krymsky (in his *History of Persia*, I, 1909, 12).—

2 Mentioned by Marco Polo, see Minaev's translation, 46.—

3 The most powerful dynasty of Kurdish origin was the dynasty of the Ayubids (St. Lane-Poole *Muhamm. dynasties*, the Russian trans., 58 ff).—

4 Nöldeke, *Tabari*, 12; note 1, (Inbegrief aller Uncultur); N. Y. Marr in *Zapiski*, XX, 126.—

5 N. Y. Marr, *ibid.*, 127 ff.

6 D. Trietsch, *Levante-Handbuch* (1910), 21.—

over the hills, from the South only in the 17th century, under Shah Abbas, which made the Caspian districts accessible in every season. The road was not kept in order after that, but after Shah Abbas, nevertheless, we do not see any more of that political separateness, of the Caspian districts, which existed before his time. The access from the East was always less difficult, although that route was also obstructed by woods, but from the East, the successful movement of conquerors, always took place both in ancient times and in the Middle Ages. The Caspian regions did not belong to Iran, either politically or ethnographically until the time of Alexander. The Tapurs, the Western neighbours, of the Hyrcanians, were probably, non-Iranian. From the name of that people, the present-day Mazanderan was called, Tapuristan, even when its inhabitants spoke already an Iranian language. Such a designation of that district can be found on coins, even on those struck as late as under Islam. In the Arabic geographical literature, the same name, nevertheless, was written and pronounced as Tabristan, and was derived from the dialectic word 'tabar' a mountain. The origin of the word "Mazanderan" is not so easy to understand, obviously it was inherited from the pre-Islamic period. It is mentioned in Persian poetry as early as the 11th c. (in Firdausi) in the Arabic, written language, even Yaqut, who wrote after 1220, never met with it. Mazanderan resisted the Arab conquerors for a long time. Its rulers pretended to be successors of the Sasanids¹. Thus, the Sasanian traditions continued to live on, even after the establishment of Islam, and of the Caliphate, and almost all the rulers of the local dynasty of the Bawandids bore ancient Iranian names upto the middle of the 14th century. No Arabic names can be found amongst them². That was also the reason, why the Shia creed was established here earlier than in other districts of Persia (with the exception of isolated cities and districts.) The Mazenderan idiom is one of the few dialects of Persian, which have a literature of their own, although the epoch, at which the chief Mazenderan poet, Amir Pazwari lived, is not certain³.

Still later than in Mazanderan Islam (also in its Shia garb) was established in Gilan a province situated to the West of Mazenderan.

1 Th. Nöldeke, Aufsätze zur pers. Geschichte, 134.—

2 St. Lane-Poole, the Russian translation (not given in the original), 290 ff.

3 Grundriss, I, 2, 346.

Gilan is considered now as a unit in itself, but was divided into two parts, during the first centuries of Islam, that of the plains or Gilan, in the strict sense of the word, inhabited by people who were called Gilas (the Gelai of the ancient geographers) and that of the hills or Daylam. Even in the epoch of the greatest power of the Caliphs under Harun-ar-Rashid¹ (786-809), the Muslim political power in that part of Iran did not reach the Caspian sea, so that Qazwin was a frontier city of the Caliphate. The Islamic religion became predominant in Daylam and Gilan only in the 10th century; in the same century, the dynasty of the Buwaihids arose amongst the Daylamites. It was the first Muslim dynasty which re-established on its coins the title of pre-Islamic kings of Iran (Shah-in-Shah, King of Kings). From the 11th to the 13th century, the hill district to the north of Qazwin was an abode of the chief of the heretical Ismailis. The Mongols conquered Gilan, only in 1307, much later than the other parts of Iran. After that event, Gilan did not play any important role in the political life of Iran. The local dynasties ceased to exist, both here and in Mazanderan in the 17th century.

The economical importance of Mazenderan and Gilan is determined by the climatic peculiarities of these two districts. The Persian sericulture was chiefly concentrated in the Caspian districts, gradually extending from East to West. The silk of Gilan became an object of exportation only in the 13th century. According to the words of a Russian investigator, the wealth of the Gilans was based on sericulture, upto the second half of the 19th century². In the same way, the wealth of Mazenderan was on rice and cotton. Wheat and barley were not cultivated in any of these districts. In Gilan the cultivation of tobacco was introduced for the first time in the 19th century, thus giving the population a sure benefit. Sericulture has several times undergone a crisis on account of a pest among the silkworms.

The dominions of the Caliphs on the Caspian sea as before them those of the Sasanians and, in course of time, the dominions of the Muslim dynasties of Iran, reached as far as the Derbent pass. The Talish, a people of the same origin as the Gilanis³, and whose name has, it seems, not been mentioned in the Middle Ages, live immediately to the North of the

1 On the activities of that Caliph in Qazwin see more particularly Yāqūt, IV, 89.—

2 S. Olfertiev (who was in charge of the Russian Consulate at Resht.) consular reports, year XI, fasc. 1, 60-77.—

3 N. Y. Marr. The Talyshs, 1922 (Proceedings of the Commission for the study of the Ethnographical constitution of the population of Russia 4) in Russian).—

Gilanis, partly in Persia partly in the Lankuran district in Russian territory. The ancient Albany was called "Arran" in the Muslim period; in course of time, the land between the Arab and the Kur was understood as Arran, and in the same way, the name of "Shirwan" was applied to the land between the Kur and the Caspian Sea. Several dynasties of rulers of Shirwan or Shirwan Shahs are mentioned in history from the pre-Islamic period up to the 16th c¹. These regions, with other North-Western regions, which were definitely separated from Iran and submitted to Russian power, only in the 19th century, became Turkish as far back as the Middle Ages. The limit of the spread of the Turkish language to the South reaches almost as far as Qazwin. Edw. Browne, during his first journey in 1887, established that the first village, in which the Persian language predominated, was the settlement Kirishkin immediately before reaching Qazwin². Even in Qazwin itself, almost all the inhabitants spoke Turkish. It must be noted, as a general rule, that the Persian literary language while successfully supplanting the local Iranian dialects and even the independent Iranian languages, like the Kurdish, is not successful in its contest with the language. In every place, where the Persian speaking population live side by side, with a Turkish speaking people, the former begin at first to talk in two languages and afterwards forget their native tongue³.

The chief works regarding the mediaeval geography of Persia, based on Arabic sources are:—

1. P. Schwarz, Iran in Mittelalter nach den Arabischen geographen I. 186 II. 1910. (Quellen und Forschungen Zur Erd-und Kulturkunde Bd. III) III. 1912. (Quellen etc. Bd. VI) IV. 1921. The four parts (the fourth part is inaccessible for me) embrace Fars, Kirman, Khuzistan and a part of Persian Iraq. E. Herzfeld's review in "Der Islam" XII. 131-138.)
2. W. Barthold. An historico-geographical sketch of Iran 1903. M. Hartmann's review in D. L L VI (1903) 407-412.
3. G. Le Strange. The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate. 1905. (Cambridge Geographical Series) M. Y. De Goeje's review in D. L. 1905 No. 45 Col. -2798 2800. W. Barthold's review in Zapiski xvii, 0102-0107.

1 St. Lane-Poole, Muhamm. Dynasties, transl., (is not given in the original), 295, E. A. Pakhomov, An abridged history of Azarbayjan with an additional chapter on the history of the Shirwanshahs of the XI to XIV etc. Baku, 1923, (for private circulation only) (in Russian).—

2 E. G. Browne. A year amongst the Persians (1893, 77 ff.

3 W. Ivanow in JRAS, 1923, 10.

Historical literature in the Persian language.

(Along with translations from and imitations of the same)

Pre-Islamic Iran, in spite of its political importance, in the history of the ancient world, just like pre-Islamic India did not create any historical literature of its own. For all the difference of character between the Iranians and the Indians, a difference so wide, that it is difficult to think of these two nations as being close relatives, who spoke originally one and the same language, and lived together in ancient times¹, both these people were in the same way indifferent to positive geography and positive history, instead of which, they had only myths and legends.

The sole historical narrative in the proper sense of the word, in the ancient Persian language, which has reached us is the Behistun inscription of Darius—"a huge monument of 520 lines written in three languages."² Darius had chosen for his inscription, the land situated as one of the chief routes which crossed his state between Babylonia and Media, somewhat to the East of the present day, Kermanshah. The form "Behistun", which is found in Arabic geographical literature is an intermediate one between the ancient 'Baghistan' ("land of gods") and the present "Bisutun", the rock with the inscriptions and the bas-reliefs may be seen from a great distance, because it is situated at a height of 500 metres above a bare plain³. It is not known whether the name of that rock took its origin from a religious cult which existed there before, or whether it was called by that name under the influence of the sculptures, which have partly a religious character⁴. In the inscription itself, no mountain is mentioned. Reference is only made to the district Kampada in Greek Kambadene. For some time the army of Darius was camped there, awaiting his arrival from Babylon.

The Bahistun inscription was discovered (in 1826), copied and translated by Rawlinson; the last and most perfect edition and translation is that of King, Thompson and Budge, "The sculptures and transcriptions of

1 B. A. Turaev, A history of the Ancient East, 2, II, 206.—

2 Ibid, 178.—

3 Iran Pelsreliefs, 189 ff.

4 Herzfeld's hypothesis (ibid 190) regarding the cult of Mithra is in no way proved.

Darius the Great,¹ 1907¹, an expedition in order to verify the text was sent in 1904. The reading and the copying of the inscription is on a polished surface of a rock standing almost perpendicular. Weissbach² in the "Grundriss" thought that it would be necessary to ascend towards the inscriptions by means of an attached aerostat. The king was able to build a scaffold and to fasten it to the rock. The work of the inscription took several weeks.

The most important result of the new comparison was according to the words of Weissbach³ and Turaev⁴ the establishment of the chronology of events. It was proved that the Ancient-Iranian calendar differed from the Babylonian solely by a different designation of the months. The month and the date are indicated in the inscription, but not the year. It is said, however, that all the events took place in the same year, namely in the year of his accession to the throne, or more correctly, during a year and a half from the 29th September of the year 522 to the 10th March 520⁵. Whilst before these events were considered to have taken place during the period of six years ending 516⁶.

Some other inscriptions of Darius, in Persepolis and its environs, reached us, which represent an important historical source. They contain desideratum and teachings of the king, the enumeration of all peoples conquered by the Persians and representatives of these peoples in their national attire⁷ are exhibited on the bas-reliefs. But, we do not find in these inscriptions, as in that of Behistun, any narratives about the course of historical events with personal and geographical names, nor do such exist in the inscriptions of the Muslim period, which were made upon

1 Reviewed, for instance, by Praseck in OLZ, 11 (1908), 371; Weissbach in ZDMG., 61 (1906), 722 ff.—

2 Grundriss II, 74.

3 ZDMG, LXI, 723 ff.

4 Turaev, o. II, 83. Besides also the articles by Weissbach regarding the chronology of the inscriptions in OLZ. 11 (1908), 487 ff; ZDMG., 62 (1908), 635 ff.—

5 Turaev, l. c.

6 As, for instance, V. Méniat, Les Achéménides, 1872, 106-118. The chronology, however

7 resulted in controversies even in later times, cf. I. V. Prasek, Gesch. der Meder und Perser, 1910, II 31 ff.

See: Iran, Felsreliefs, 36 ff, 287, ff. F. II. Weissbach, Die Keilschriften am Grabe des Darins Hystaspis Lpz. 1911 (Abh. Phil.—hist. KE, der Kön. Sachs. Ges. der Wiss., XXIX, N 1) 44 ff.

rocks in mountain passes in commemoration of events, but without any detailed narrative about the same, even in the 16th century¹.

A Greek author (Ktesias, end of the 5th c. and beginning of the 6th c.) declares that he got his information regarding the history of the Persians from the "books of the kings." He actually quotes very often Iranian epic narratives altered after his own fashion, which were composed chiefly in the Eastern provinces of the State². Ktesias, obviously, did not know that the Behistun inscription was made by Darius and attributed it to the mythical Assyrian queen Semiramis³. It is, however, not certain that the work attributed to Ktesias (preserved in Diodorus) was actually composed by him. Muslim authors had still more fantastic conceptions regarding the Behistan inscription⁴.

As in ancient Persian, so also in Middle Persian, (or Pehlavi) we have only one historical inscription, in the proper sense of the word. This inscription may be seen in the district Raikuli, (literally, "the foot of the mountain-pass")⁵ near the former Persian-Turkish frontier, between the Persian city Qasr-i-Shirin and the Turkish town Sulaimaniyeh, not far from the Kurdish village Ban-Khaylan⁶. The decipherment of that inscription also discovered by Rawlinson, offers great difficulties and in an article published in 1921, only the hope could be expressed, that some day, in the future it would be possible to decipher the inscription and to obtain some new information about the events narrated in the same, which are closely related to the incidents, which took place when the power was passing over from the hand of the Arsacids to the Sasanids. The inscription was made not on the rock itself, but on the flagstones which form the outer coating a building erected there, probably by the same king, in memory of some events. Such is the suggestion made indirectly by E. Herzfeld, as may be seen from the term he uses⁷, viz. *Denkmalsturm*. The building fell down and the

1 To the beginning of the 16th c. belongs the inscription of the Uzbek Khan Shaybani in the Bolar Pass on the road from Kelat to Meshed (C. E. Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*, 1900, 153), to the 15th and 16th cc. the well-known inscriptions in the Yizak Pass in Turkestan.

2 Zapiski, XXII, 258 ff.

3 Iran Felsr 191. Forbiger, *Handb. der altl. Geographie*, II, 593. According to Edw. Meyer (*Geschichte des Alterthums*, I, 61f) the source of Diodorus would be Klytarches.

4 E. Herzfeld in *Der Islam*, XII, 136.

5 Thus according to Herzfeld, *Iran Felsreliefs*, 283 Tuss des Passes).

6 Regarding that place, besides Herzfeld, also W. Mivorsky in the *Materials for the study of the East*, fasc. 2, p. 189 (in Russian).

7 *Der Islam*, XI, 155, there also about the inscriptions and four royal busts.

flagstone with inscriptions are lying on the ground by its Eastern side. Rawlinson copied some separate fragments in 1844, but it was impossible to establish by them the order of the lines. A new more detailed investigation was necessary, and it was made by E. Herzfeld¹ in 1913; but this investigation also could not re-establish completely the text. Herzfeld was able only to tell (in 1921) that in that inscription the Persians and the Parthians are mentioned together (*Pars ut Pothuv*) six times, like the Persians, with the Medians in the Behistun inscription; of Eastern kings there are mentioned the Shahs of the Khwarizmians, the Kushanas and the Sakas, and also rulers of other regions, the names of which are more difficult to decipher. It cannot be seen from the text who of them is mentioned as an enemy, and who was in the quality of an ally or a vassal².

A considerable number of inscriptions of the Persian kings with their names and titles have reached us. There exist bas-reliefs and other sculptures, with their images and also with representations of certain historical events, amongst them that of the Emperor Valerian, being taken into captivity by Shapur I in 260³, but these inscriptions do not contain any narratives regarding any historical events, as for instance, the strife between Persia and Rome. It is still more difficult to use as an historical source, and to refer to certain epochs, nations and persons, the Iranian royal tombs which bear no inscriptions nor sculptures, although there have been attempts to give an exact list of these sepulchres and a precise answer to the question, which of them must belong to the Median epoch⁴.

In the Sasanian period, otherwise than in that of the Achemenids, historical books must have existed without any doubt in the royal library and there is no doubt that the translator Sergius, a Syrian, who is quoted by the Byzantine historian of the 6th century, Agathias⁵ was acquainted with them. Sergius did not meet with any obstacles on the part of the Persians. They considered that it was merely all the better

1 APAW, 1914, phil.-hist. kl., No. 1 "Die Aufnahme des sasanidschen Denkmals von Paikuli." From Rawlinson's reproduction the inscription was published in JRAS, 1868, (New Series, III), 278-300 (the article by Thomas, Sassanian Inscriptions).

2 Der Islam, XI, 117 ff.

3 The images are enumerated in the Grundriss, II, 519.

4 Iran. Felsreliefs, 7 ff. 61 ff. Der Islam, XI, 130 ff. Denkmal von Paikuli, 21. About the same monuments also W. Minorsky in Zapiski XXIV, 174-182.

5 This work constitutes the third volume in the series Corpus script. hist. Byzantinae.

for the glory of their kings, if their history was known by the Romans¹. Agathias gives details only about the Sasanian dynasty, but, as pointed out by Noeldeke², there is hardly a doubt that the history of Iran of the most ancient times was related in the same books. From the narratives of Agathias, and of some Armenian authors, it is possible to draw the conclusion that the Persian historical tradition had already then the same shape, in which we find it later in Muslim authors. The name Acheminids was altogether forgotten, instead of it, two mythical dynasties, the Pishdadians and the Kayanians, were created. Pishdad is the surname of the king Kushang, who was the first to establish justice on earth (*pish* forward, *dad* justice,³) who taught men to erect buildings, to extract metals from the earth, etc. The best-known of his descendants is his grandson Jamshid, (properly Jamshid—a royal title of the same origin as the word "Shah" from the Ancient-Persian *khshayathia*⁴), Awestan-Yima, in India—Yama and Afidun in the Awesta—Thraetaona, in India—Traitana⁵—heroes of the ancient Aryan epics, common to the Indians and the Iranians. The name of the second dynasty has its origin from the word *Kay*, in Awestan *Kavay*. Thus are called, in the most ancient hymns of the Awesta, the rulers, who were generally hostile to the Zoroastrian doctrine. The prince (*Kavay*) Vishtaspa (in Greek Hystaspes) was an exception because he adopted the new doctrine. Vishtaspa (Bishtaps or Gushtaps) in the epics also is one of the representatives of that dynasty although the word "Kay" is not used with his name, as regularly as with the names of his predecessors. The word "Kay" is in general, never used when the names of his descendants are mentioned. His grandson Bahaman was identified in the Greek tradition with Artaxerxes I, Longimanus (Greek Makrakheir, Pers. Diras-dast) 465–424. After Bahman are mentioned his son Darab (Darius) I and the latter's son Darius II, in whose reign the conquest of Persia by Alexander took place—the first actual historical event known to Persian tradition. The addition of the two Dariuses to the names of the mythical Kayanian kings is the sole trace

1 Agathias. IV, 30.—

2 Grundriss, II, 141 —

3 The etymology in Tabari, I, 171, 14.

4 The addition to the king's name of his title in such an ancient form already unintelligible to Muhammadans clearly shows that the codex of traditions has reached the Muslim Persians in a fixed shape as transmitted to them by their ancestors.—

5 Grundries, II, 131.

of the existence of the Achemenids in that tradition. The origin of the Iranian state-banner, which was taken by the Arabs in the battle of Qadisiyya on the Euphrates in 636 was also transferred into the mythical ancient times and attributed to the mythical person of the black-smith *Kam*, which must have obviously existed in the Achemenian period, and remained after them in the hands of the rulers of their native country Fars, because we see its representation in the picture of the battle between Darius and Alexander at Tssos (333) and in later times, on Sasanian coins of the period, when the Sasanids were still mere local rulers of Fars¹.

The traditions give very scarce information about the proximate predecessors of the Sasanids, as rulers of Iran—the Arsacids, nevertheless, some traces of the existence of that dynasty can be found. The name Arsac is found in the forms *Ashk*, *Ashkan*, and *Ashgan*. The dynasty is called the *Ashkanians*. According to the chronology of the Persian tradition, the Ashkanians ruled only 266 years. That chronological mistake existed already in the pre-Islamic sources because in the works of Agathias, mention is made of 270 years². The information regarding the accession to the throne of the Ashkanians, the succession and the duration of the separate reigns are also far from being correctly recorded.

The authentic history of the Persian people with exact chronological information begins only with the Sasanians period. That information existed already in the chronicle used by Agathias³, through Sergius. The same information was borrowed by Muslim authors from the "Royal Books" (*Kuday-Namah*) translated into Arabic, the final redaction of which took place at the very end of the Sassanian period⁴. This book was rather an official epic than an official history. The epic traditions were inserted into exact chronological forms in the same way as was done in the Greek works of the Alexandrian scholars. As can be seen from quotations found in the works of Muslim authors, the number of years, months, and even days, which had passed from the time of the first man, upto the end of the Sassanian dynasty, was definitely stated even in the Avesta. The history of the Sasanids, which was found:

1. Grundriss, II, 487 and 546 : reproduced in the book by F. Justi, Geschichte der orientalischen Völker im Altertum, 138 , 453. The Arabs compared that banner to a travelling bag attached to a stick (Tabari, I, 207). There exists information about that banner having been burnt by Omar (the Persian Tabari, Cawnpore edition, 46; Zotenberg's translation, I, 119).—

2. Agathias, II, 26 —

3. Ibid. IV, 24 ff.

4. cf. my article in the Zapiski, XXII, 267 ff.

in this book, had not the character of an entirely authentic chronicle. Faulty information is sometimes given, regarding the genealogy of the kings. Events of their reign are now and then narrated in epic style, with a tendency to favour the knightly aristocracy. All the dynasties the mythical and the historical, are genealogically interconnected, in such a way that according to the tradition from the most ancient times, there existed only one royal family. Even in the Muslim period only the ascendants of pre-Islamic kings were recognised as lawful rulers of Persia. Thus, fantastic genealogies were composed in order to transform usurpers into lawful kings.

After the fall of the Iranian State and the establishment of Islam, the literary traditions of pre-Islamic Iran were chiefly maintained in three regions. In the Western part of Fars, where in a special establishment, in the so-called "Castle of gypsum" traditions about the former kings and their collaborators were transmitted from one generation to the other; in Ispahan, which became under Islam a big city and a centre of intellectual life of Persia, in Khorasan, where a library of Pehlavi manuscripts existed in Merv, which according to tradition, were brought there, at the time of the flight of the last Sasanian king Yazdegard III¹. But the greatest care was displayed not so much to preserve integrally the ancient traditions, as to glorify the mother-country, and to prove the superiority of the conquered Persians over their Arab conquerors. That tendency was seen not only in their manner of explaining the tradition, but also in its actual composition. Those by whom the tradition was transmitted did not stop at telling deliberate falsehoods, in order to represent favourably either the whole of their nation or else, under the influence of local patriotism, their mother-country in the more restricted sense of the word. It was more necessary to convince the Arabs of the many cultural merits of the Persians, than the Persians, themselves. We have information about several translations of the Khuday-Nameh, and also about translations of some other works, and it seems that no distinction was made between an historical work, and an historical novel. The history of the Sasanids was the main subject of these works. Educated Persians themselves were compelled to recognise the presence of many obviously fantastical elements in the tradition of the earlier centuries². Nevertheless, these elements were brought into relation with similar traditions of other nations (for instance Jamshid and Solomon), and thus images of a universal history

¹ ZA, XXVI, 263 ff. Zapiski XXII, 273.

² Zapiski, XXII, 270.

were created, which represented a collection of all kinds of traditions, biblical and those of classical antiquity, Ancient-Arabian and Ancient-Persian, amongst which the latter were, of course, predominant.

That work was going on quite naturally not in the places where the Persian traditions were actually preserved, but in the centres of Muslim cultural life and more especially in Baghdad. The historian Tabari, a Persian by origin, who wrote, however, always in Arabic and based himself in his writing most probably exclusively, on Arabic sources, died in Baghdad 923, when he was still engaged in composing his vast work in the history of the world. In 963, the work of Tabari appeared in Bukhara, the capital of the Samanid dynasty, in a most careless and often inaccurate translation attributed to the Samanid Wazir Abu-Ali-Muhammad ibn Muhammad Balami¹. The work of Balami, or, as he is generally called, "The Persian Tabari" is, nowadays, after the edition of the Arabic original, not so much of interest, as an historical source, but rather as a literary document. The translator, while mostly abridging the original, introduced in it, at the same time, other narratives, chiefly of a legendary character, quoting Persian written sources. Now and then, he gives some additional explanations meant for the readers of the translation. Thus in the story of Moses, he adds that the Nile divided the capital of Egypt into two parts in the same way as the capital of the Samanids is divided by the Bukhara canal, but that the Nile is ten times wider and deeper than that canal. An exhaustive analysis of the "Persian Tabari" as literary document is as yet unattainable. The work is accessible in its French translation by Zotenberg, but no critical edition of it exists as yet. There are some Oriental editions. Thus in India, besides the earlier Lucknow edition, which is mentioned by Rieu, there was published another in Cawnpore (1896). When comparing, for instance, Zotenberg's translation, with the Cawnpore edition, one sees that the most characteristic passage of the translation, viz, the comparison of the Nile with the Bukhara canal², is omitted in the Cawnpore edition; on the other hand in the passage intercalated, by the Persian translator, regarding a taxation reform supposed to have been introduced by King

1 The name of the translator is given in Zotenberg's translation (I, 2), but is not found in the Ms. of the British Museum Add. 7622 (Rieu Pers. Man., 68 ff.), where it is said instead that the Samanid Amir Mansûr transmitted his orders for the translation to be made through his courtier Faïq (about him see my book "Turkistan at the time of the Mongol Invasion," II, 262 ff.)

2 Zotenberg, I 297; Cawnpore edit, 122.

Qubad (488—531) Zotenberg's translation omits the words of the Persian translator, which can be found in the Cawnpore edition to the effect that the above narrative was found by him in Persian historical chronicles¹. In Zotenberg's translation, as well as in many of the existing manuscripts, a more or less detailed narrative is given down to the time of the death of Caliph Mutasim (842). Events, which took place up to the death of Mutaz (869) are briefly recorded in two pages. The Cawnpore edition, as well as two MSS. in the British Museum, contain an enumeration of Caliphs up to the death of al-Mustazhir (1118) wherein the unknown narrator states he enumerates the Caliphs up to his own days and leaves to his descendants to add the name of their Caliphs and Sultans. In the oldest MSS. of the work in the British Museum, the Persian translator says that in the original, the narrative was brought as far as the year 294 (909)² and that death stole upon Tabari just when he was narrating events of that year. This passage cannot be found either in Zotenberg's translation, or in the Cawnpore edition. The existing versions differ exceedingly one from another, both as regards the scope of their expositions, and the way in which the material is divided into books. This fact is mentioned in Zotenberg's translation, but no details are given. The absence of a critical edition of the Persian Tabari was noted as early as 1895, as being one of the most serious gaps in the field of research³. This gap has not been filled up to this time.

Still less investigated is the course of the development of Persian historiography from the time of the "Persian Tabari" up to latest historical works which are according to the words of the author of the article on Persian literature in the "Grundriss", as numerous as the sands of the sea. In the "Grundriss" itself, the chapter on the historical literature is very short and compiled in such a careless manner that Arabic authors are represented there as successors to Balami, whose works are in reality, a sequel to the Arabic original⁴. The three volumes of the "Literary History of Persia", by Edw. G. Browne, contain only one chapter specially consecrated to historical literature, treating of the historians of the Mongolian period (13th to 17th century), which is the golden age of Persian historiography⁵. Information about other historians is scattered all over the work, and no more than ten lines are

1 Zotenberg, II, 152; Cawnpore edit. 314 ff.

2 This passage corresponds in the Arabic original to III, 2273, 16 where it is not said that what follows does not belong to Tabari himself.

3 "Vostchnya Zametki," 190 (the article by Baron V. Rosen.)

4 Grundriss, II, 355.

5 E. G. Browne, A. History of Persian literature under Tartar Dominion, Cambridge, 1920, 62-104.

consecrated to Balami¹. The eight volumes of the "History of India", as it is narrated by its own historians give a great deal of information, regarding Persian historical literature. It was Sir H. W. Elliot, who began this work and after his death Y. Dawson, published his posthumous papers, which constitute a collection of fragments, relative to the history of India, chiefly called from Persian works translated into English with introductory articles, dealing with individual historians and their works². As regards the history of Persian itself, such a compendium does not exist and it would be more difficult to compile it on account of the far greater amount of material available. In order to obtain more detailed information about Persian historical works, it is necessary to have recourse to the catalogues of great European libraries, of which the first place will probably always belong to the catalogue of British Museum³, compiled by Ch. Rieu, though at the present time there is need of a new edition, on account of the extensive additions, both to the collections of the British Museum and to many other Libraries quoted in Rieu's catalogue. In Russian some information regarding Persian historiography can be found in the "History of Persia, its literature and its dervish theosophy" by A. Krinsky⁴ (which has been several times re-edited) namely, in its chapter on the 'Sources and books of Reference (V.I.) and more especially, in the chapter "Historiography" (V.III) which deals with the historians from the 13th to the 16th centuries⁵.

Tabar's work remains for scholars now the chief source of historical information, regarding the pre-Islamic period, and the first centuries of Islam. The patriotic tendencies of the Persians could not be entirely satisfied with it, for the simple reason that the Arabs and Islam occupy

1 A Literary History of Persia, I (1902), 368 ff.

2 A History of India as told by its own historians, 1867-1877.

3 Ch. Rieu, Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum, 1879-1883, for it— "Supplement" 1895.

4 "Studies in Oriental Knowledge" (in Russian) published by the Lazarev Institute of Oriental Languages, fasc. XVI. The last edition of volume I. appeared in 1909-1914, vol. III—in 1914 1917; instead of a IInd volume only "preliminary editions" or "preparatory materials" have appeared (its 3rd edition was published in 1912). A new edition in Ukrainian with considerable additions has been undertaken at present; the first part 9th to 10th cc.) appeared in 1923.—

5 Cf. also the section "History" in the bibliography appended to the "Abridged Grammar of the Modern-Persian language" by C. Zalemann and V. Zhukovsky, 1890 (in Russian.)

a greater place in it than the Persians and their culture. In the Cawnpore edition, Balami's work is divided into four volumes, only one of which is consecrated to Muhammad and the Caliphs, viz., the fourth volume but it is more voluminous than the other three taken together. The Persians needed a work about their ancient times in their own tongue. Such work was compiled for the viceroy of Khorasan, Abu Mansur-Muhammed ibn-Abd-ar-Razzaq (960-962,) a contemporary of Balami. Here also, as in the case of the work of Balami, the compilation was not based upon authentic collections of Iranian traditions but on Arabic translations and adaptations of the same. In the same 10th century, that work was turned into verse, first by a native of Balkh, the poet Daqiqi¹, and further by a native of Tus (near the present Meshed), Firdausi. Instead of the term, "Khudy-Nameh", in the Islamic period (when the word "Khuday" had already lost its original meaning of "king" and preserved only the meaning 'god') the term, "Shah-Nameh" became current. The verse of Firdausi and even of Daqiqi, shows that a fully elaborated epic style², already existed in their time, which means that they must have had predecessors, but the work of Firdausi, "the national epic which in such a form does not exist among any other nations"³ had supplanted all other attempts in that direction. According to Edw. Browne's words, it remains still "the chief source, whence the Persians derive their ideas as to the ancient history of their nation."⁴ Even in the words attributed to Mahmud of Ghazna (998-1030) addressed to his enemy, the Bawahid Majd-ud-Dowlah (997-1029) the Shah-Nameh as "the history of the Persians" is placed by the side of Tabari's work, which is called "the history of the Muslims"⁵. Similar Persian epic poems which imitated the epic of Firdausi were composed in later times for the glorification of Muslim rulers, not only those of Persia upto Fath-Ali-Shah (1797-1834),⁶ but also those of Turkestan upto Khudayar-Khan of Kokand⁷, whose accession to the throne for the first time took place in the year 1845 and who was dethroned in 1875.

1 Zapiscki, XXII, 278 ff. Grundriss, II, 143-152.

2 Grundriss, II, 149.

3 Words of Th. Noeldeke quoted in the Zapiscki, XXII, 257.

4 A Literary History of Persia, I, 111.

5 Ibn el Athir, IX, 261.

6 Grundriss, II, 239.

7 Izvestia, 1921, 55.

The epic of Firdausi was brought up to the conquest of Persia by the Arabs. Both Balami and Firdausi took no interest in the Muslim dynasties, which appeared in Khorasan from the 9th century, and who boasted of their descent from the ancient Persian kings. A special work dealing with the history of the rulers of Khorasan already existed at that time, but only in Arabic¹. The Arabic language was used by Persian historians, not only in their works on universal history, but also for the compilation of local histories. When there appeared historical works in Persian, dealing with the history of individual cities etc., their authors were dependent on their predecessors, who wrote in Arabic, in the same way as the authors of Universal histories.

The most ancient original historical work in Persian, which reached us, is that of Gardizi, compiled in the middle of the 11th century. It is preserved in the manuscripts of which one is a copy of the other. The work of Gardizi is not yet published². To the pre-Islamic history and to that of the Caliphs, Gardizi adjoins the history of Khorasan upto his contemporary dynasty of Ghazna, which he brings as far as the year 1041; for the description of events up to 955, he bases himself on the Arabic work of as-Sallami. To the purely historical part of the work of Gardizi are added chapters of historic-geographical contents, devoted to India and to the country of the Turks (in Central Asia.) In these chapters, he is also entirely dependent on Arabic sources, and quite often translates the Arabic text³ incorrectly. Nevertheless, his work is very important for us, particularly because several of his Arabic sources⁴ are lost. The same is to be said with regard to an earlier anonymous geographical work in Persian, compiled in 982-3 also on the territory of the present Afghanistan⁵.

1 About the work of Sallāmi see my "Turkistan", II, 11; regarding the name a correction in Orient, Studien Th. Noeldeke gewidmet, 1906, I, 174, note 2. Mention is also made (Vāqūt, Irshād al-Arib, edited by Margoliouth, 140) the continuator of Sallām's work who it seems, also wrote in Arabic; Abūl-Hosca Muhammad C. Sulaymān C. Muhammad.

2 W: Barthold, Turkistan, II, 22 and 520. Ibidem (I, 1-18) passages from the text by Gardiz.

3 Cf. Marquart's Osteurop und ostasiat. (Streifzüge 1903, 31) expression: "wimmelt von Uebersetzungsfehlern."

4 Text and Russian translation of the chapter on Turks in my Report on a journey to Central Asia, 1897, 80-126.

5 Zapiski, X, 121-137.

The 11th century can be considered to have been in every way the golden age of Persian literature. We are, therefore, comparatively well acquainted with the history of the first rulers of the dynasty of Ghaznah. A contemporary of Sultan Mahmud, his court historian, Utbi wrote in Arabic, and moreover, in an extremely refined style. His work was translated into Persian, only in the 13th century, and that translation was made in Western Persia at a time, when a tendency in favour of the theoretical style became prevalent in Persian historiography. It was further translated from Persian into English¹. Utbi's work, both in the original and its Persian translation, was very popular. Many historians, both Arabs and Persians, made use of it, and very often, in such a way that they copied it to the letter². The Persian historians of the 11th century used to write in a quite different style, almost approaching the everyday colloquial. Thus wrote besides Gardizi also Abu-I-Fazal Bayhaqi, who compiled the history of the Ghaznavids from 1018. Only a part of that work has reached us, namely the one devoted to the reign of Sultan Masud. (1033-1041). This part corresponds to the volumes from 6 to 10, the total number of the volumes being thirty, wherefrom we may conclude that the author had brought his work almost up to the day of his death, which took place in 1077 (the part that has reached us was written between 1058 and 1059). This shows that the narrative is extremely detailed. Bayhaqi's work does not represent an historical work in the proper sense of the word, but merely the author's notes, regarding events, which took place in his days. As an officer of the state chancellery, he was able to give exact information with regard to the doings of the Sultans and the chief government officials. In that respect, his work is a living image of his epoch. No complete copy of his work was in existence, even as far back as the 12th century. Mention of the first volumes missing, is found even in the works of an author of the 15th century. No quotations from the last 20 volumes have been encountered up to the present. Neither a critical edition³ nor a translation of Bayhaqi's work exists. There is rather detailed summary of its contents in French⁴.

Bayhaqi quotes in only one passage a written source, namely the autographical notes of the prominent scholar Abu Rayhan al-Biruni⁵, regarding certain events in Khawarizm. Al-Biruni's book bore the title:

1 Reynolds, *The Kitabi Yamini*, 1858.

2 W. Barthold, *Turkistan*, II, 20 ff.

3 On the existing editions see W. Barthold, *Turkistan*, II, 23 ff. and 521.

4 A. Biberstein-Kazimirski, *Menoutchehri, Poète persan du 11me siècle* 1887, 17-131.

5 About him W. Barthold, "Muslim World" (in Russian), 59.

"Famous people of Khawarizm";¹ Bayhaqi borrowed thence a narrative about an encounter between Mahmud of Ghazna and Mamun, the ruler of Khawarizm, which ended in Mamun being killed in March 1017 and in the occupation of Khawarizm by Mahmud². One cannot see from Bayhaqi's text, whether the work of al-Biruni was written in Arabic or in Persian. In general al-Biruni's works are written in Arabic. There are moreover, amongst them translations from Persian and from Sanskrit. The name of the book on the history of Khawarizm is not contained in the list of his works before 1040³ compiled by al-Biruni himself, but it is mentioned under a somewhat altered title⁴ in the life of Biruni in the biographical dictionary by Yaqut. Another historical work of al-Biruni is also mentioned there bearing the title: "The history of Sultan Mahmud's rule and records about his father."

The work of Mahmud Varraq, who was an intimate friend of Bayhaqi⁵, was probably compiled in Persian and it must have been devoted in all probability to universal history, as it was said to have embraced the history of "several thousand years". Mahmud Varraq brought his work down to the year 409 of the Hijra (1018-9 A.D.) chiefly because Bayhaqi's work begins with that year. Mahmud's work was compiled in 450 A.H. (1058 A.D.) Bayhaqi quotes Mahmud Varraq in the narrative about events of the 9th century, and calls him a reliable historian. Nevertheless, that work was obviously lost quite early as it is afterwards nowhere mentioned.

In the same 11th century, Khorasan was conquered by a Turkoman tribe, at the head of which stood the dynasty of the Seljuqs. The conquerors proceeded immediately towards the West and reduced very soon all Muslim Asia from the confines of China to the Mediterranean. In the West, the successes of the Byzantians, who had, again resumed their aggression on Islam were not only stopped by them, but they definitely annexed Asia Minor to the Muslim world—an object for which the Caliphs had been struggling in vain. The extension to the West of the Seljuq empire resulted in the spread of the influence of Eastern Iranian culture. The most characteristic phenomenon of that

1 Baihaki, ed by Morley, 837.

2 W. Barthold, *Turkistan*, II, 289-294.

3 Alberuni; *Chronologie*: ed. by Sachau, the introduction.

4 The talk about the history of Khawarizm (*Vāqūt*, *Irshād*, ed. by Margoliouth VI, 311).

5 Baihaki; ed. by Morley, 317; W. Barthold, *Turkistan*, II, 22.

epoch is the gradual introduction in Mesopotamia, Syria, Egypt and Northern Africa of the *madrasah*¹, i. e., a superior theological school of a type established in Eastern Iran. Terms of Persian origin, used even by historians, who wrote in Arabic, begin to permeate the state terminology, besides the Khurasani term, "Khawajah" in the sense of "officer", mentioned by me in another passage². There is an account given by the historian Abu-Shuja the continuator of Ibn-Miskawayh³, regarding the establishment under the "Turkish power", i. e. the Seljuqs of the office of an "amir of justice" (*amir-i-dad*), whose duty it was to receive complaints⁴.

The progress of Persian historiography was accordingly furthered by these events. Formerly, under the rule of the Iranian Buwayhids, in Western Persia, historians wrote obviously solely in Arabic. Now, already in the 11th century, a Persian minister composed for his Turkish king, who lived chiefly Western Persia, a treatise on the art of government, the theoretical theses, of which are illustrated by historical accounts, not always authentic, it is true⁵. That work is accessible in a European edition, though a not sufficiently critical one, and in a French translation, which is also far from being free from mistakes⁶. In a supplementary volume, the editor mentions many other historical and geographical texts (without translation) referring to the same epoch, *Siasset Nameh. Traite de gouvernement compose pour le Sultan Melik Chah par le vazir Nizam-ol Moulk, Texte persan edite par Ch. Schefer 1891, Traduction 1893, Supplement 1897*.

The use of the Persian language in the historical literature of Western Persia at that epoch was still not firmly established. The notes of the minister Anushirwan C. Khalid al-Kashani, composed in Persian in the 12th century, which embraced events from 1072 to 1134, have reached us only in the work of another historian, also a Persian by birth, but who

1 W. Barthold, *Islam*, 1918, 52.

2 *Turkistan*, II, 238. cf. the explanation of the word "khwāja" as a Khurasāni expression (in the sense of a polite form of speech when addressing an old man), in Mas'ūdi *Prairies d'Or*, IX, 24.

3 "The Muslim World," 57. At present published and translated into English are not only both volumes of Ibn-Miskawayh which has for us all the importance of an original source (on account of his source Thābit C. Sirīān being lost), but also the work of his continuator Abū Shujā, under the common title "The Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate, Oxford, 1920—1.

4 *Eclipse etc.*, III, 52 (text); VI, 51 (translation).

5 Nöldeke in *ZDMG*, XLVI, 707 (?).—

6 W. Barthold, *Turkistan*, 249 and 328.—

wrote in Arabic, viz. "Imadu-d-Din Isfahani".¹ In Eastern Iran instances of translation from Persian into Arabic are more frequent. It happens very often, besides, that a work written first in Arabic is known to us, only in its Persian translation, generally in an abridged form. The works regarding the history of Iranian cities were written originally in Arabic, on account of their contents, being more of a theological than of an historical character. Amongst them, the most precious material² is found in the work of Narshakhi on the history of Bukhara composed in 332 (943-4) and translated into Persian only in 522 (1028-9), when, according to the translator's words, "the people were mostly disinclined to read Arabic books". The version which has reached us, and is accessible both in a Persian edition³ and in a Russian translation⁴ is still more abridged and belongs to the first half of the 13th century (the last event mentioned in it is the conquest of Bukhara by Chingiz-Khan in 1220), but this version comes down to us also only in later manuscripts, though there is besides reason to suppose that a more complete text of the work of Narshakhi⁵ was still in existence as recently as in the 16th century. A history of Samarkand originally composed in the 12th century in Arabic, by the theologian, Abu-Hafa Omar Nasafi and which has reached us also in an abridged Persian translation, and has been partly translated into Russian⁶, is still more disfigured by later additions, and contains less exact information.

Towards the beginning of the 13th century, historical works in Persian were written in all the countries, which were under the influence of Persian culture (for instance in architecture) from India to Asia Minor. More or less, at the same time, in the first year of the 13th century, the historical

1 W. Barthold, *Turkistan*, II, 28 ff.—

2 "The Muslim World", 54.—

3 Moh. Nerchakhi, *Description topographique et historique de Baukhara*, publ. par Ch. Schefer, 1892. Reviewed by W. Barthold in the *Zapisski* IX, 313-316.—

4 Muh. Narshakhi, *A History of Bukhara*, translated from Persian by N. Lykashin, Tashkent 1897. Reviewed by N. Vesselovsky in the 'Journal' of the Ministry of Public Instruction of Russia, 1897, December, 416-468.—

5 Cf. my article "Bukhara" in *ET.*, I, 815.—

6 By V. L. Viatkin in the "Yearbook of the Samarkand province" (in Russian) fasc. VIII (1906). Reviewed by W. Barthold in the *Zapisski*, XVIII, 0182-0189 where particulars are given regarding the component parts of the version that has reached us.—

works of Hasan Nizami¹ were compiled for a ruler of Delhi and by Muhammad Ravandi², for a Sultan of Asia Minor. The last work was translated into Turkish³ in the 15th century. The greatest part of that literature is lost, and we are acquainted merely with the titles. It is hardly necessary to enumerate here all these titles. It has been, besides partly done in my book, "Turkistan at the time of the Mongol Invasion". During these last years, several manuscripts have been found of works, which had been regarded as lost. Some new details came to light with regard to some other works. Thus it has been established that the monograph about the city of Isfahan, which was written in the 11th century, by Mufazzal Mafarrukhi, and which was known before only in a Persian translation⁴ is preserved also in its Arabic original, moreover, in several copies⁵. In 1912, a copy of the work of Fakhru-d-Din Marvarrudi, compiled early in the 13th century and considered lost, was purchased by a private person. It had been, besides, always mentioned as a "poetical chronicle".⁶ It proved to be in reality in collection of genealogies, and it is moreover written in prose⁷. There are, however, cases, when a work once discovered becomes again lost. The publisher of Ravandi's work established the fact that the "Seljuq Namah" of Zahirud-d-Din Nishapuri compiled under the last Seljuqid Sultan of Persia Taghrul (1177-1194)⁸ was the sole written source of that author. It is quite probable that this work existed as a manuscript of the Royal Asiatic Society in London, No. 138, described in its time in Morley's catalogue (1854),

1 About him—Ch. Rieu, *Pers. Man*, p. 239.

2 At present published from the only extant Ms in the Gibb Memorial Series; New Series II: *Muhammed Ibn-Ali-Ilm-Sulayman ar-Rawandi*; *The Rahat-us sudur wa Ayat us-Surur*, edited by Muhammad Iqbal, 1921. Detailed particulars regarding the author and his works are given in the preface.—

3 Cf. my "Turkistan", II, 30 ff.

4 About it see E. G. Browne's articles in the JRAS, 1911, 416 and 661-704 m. 1917, 676.—

5 Regarding one of these copies see E. G. Browne in the YRAS, 1917, 676; two other copies are found in the British Museum, or. 3601 and 7662. It is noteworthy that the first of these copies was acquired as early as 1888; nevertheless, it did not enter the Supplement to Rieu's Arabic Catalogue published in 1894.—

6 W. Barthold, *Turkistan*, II, 32. —

7 E. D. Ros. in "A Volume of Orient." Studies presented to E. G. Browne, 1922, 392-413.—

8 *Rahat-us-Sudur*, pref. p. XXIX.—

but now it is to be considered lost, according to the information received by me from the library of that Society.

Among the works of universal history, compiled in the 12th century, we may mention an anonymous work, entitled "A collection of chronicles and stories". (*Mujmilu-t-tawarikhnama-l-qisas*) written in 1126; and preserved in an only manuscript (1410 A. D)¹; at the end of it, an account of an event which took place in the year 1153 is added. The interest of this work for European investigators lies in the data derived from Arabic sources, it gives on the Persian epic²; the chapters on India and on the Turkish nations³ offer also a certain interest. The history of Muslim Persia is given in a very brief form.

The last consideration holds good in general with regard to the Persian historical literature of the pre-Mongolian period. The work by Abu-l-Fazl Bayhaqi is probably the only exception. It would be quite impossible to compile a history of Persia of the pre-Mongolian period from Persian works, without having recourse to Arabic sources. Equally brief and inaccurate is the information, both as regards the history of the earlier dynasties and the history of culture,—as for instance, the biographical information regarding literary⁴ and religious authors. Several works belonging to that domain, constitute the contents of the five volumes of the series⁵. "The Persian historical texts" published in England, from 1901 to 1907, and which, as far as I know, have no sequel.

The Persian historical literature took on a quite different character from the 13th century onward. Besides, the events, which took place during the reign of Masud the Gaznavid, the campaigns of Chingizkhan are most probably the first event in Muslim history, of which detailed accounts in Persian have reached us. In the same year (1260) were compiled in India the Universal history of Minhaju-d-Din Juzjani known under the title of "Nasir's Tables" (*Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*). The Work is

1 In Paris, Ancien Fonds Persan, No. 61.—E. Blochet, Catalogue des manuscrits persans de la Bibb. Nationale, No. 245 (I, 191-196).—

2 Bar. V. R. Rosen in the "Vostochniya Zametki" (1895), 171-188.—

3 About it (together with a bibliographical list) my "Turkistan", II, 38; to that list can be added the article by Quatremère in the JAs., 1839 (3, VII 246-285).—

4 See my article "To the Question of Early Persian Poetry" (Bull. of the School of Orient Studies, II, 836-838).—

5 Namely the anthology by Dawlatshah (15th c.) and Awfi (13th c., cf. Grundriss, II, 213); in all three volumes, and the work by Faridu-d-Din Attar (13th c.) on mystics, two volumes ibid. 286 ff.).—

dedicated to the Sultan of Delhi, Nasiru-d-Din Mahimud Shah (1246-1275) and in Western Persia, or in Baghdad—the History of the Mongol invasion by Ala-ud-Din Ala-Malik Yuwayni. The former has been published and translated only in part. The part, translated into English, is moreover considerably larger than that which has been published. That work¹ gives as little information, regarding the dynasties of Muslim Persia, as other similar works. More detailed information is always given about the history of the country, of which the author is a native, (Ghur, in Afghanistan). Still more details are given about the Mongol conquests, especially in Afghanistan. The *Tabakat-i-Nasiri* translated by Raverly, London 1881.

Yuwayni, who was in the service of the Mongolian conquerors of Persia, devoted his work especially to the history of the Mongols. The first volume contains the history of the Mongols. The first volume contains the history of Chingiz-Khan, his two first successors, and a brief account of the States, which were under the rule of his two eldest sons. The second volume, the history of the Kharizm-Shahs, upto the conquest of the Eastern part of Iran, by the Mongols and Mongolian rulers. The third volume, the history of the events, after the year 1251, and the history of the conquest by the Mongols in 1256 of the Ismaili State; in certain manuscripts, a chapter is added on the conquest of Baghdad (1258) by the Mongols, which, as it is supposed, was compiled by the astronomer, Nasiru-d-Din Tusi² (who died in 1274, sometime before Yuwayni). In spite of all the criticism to which Yuwayni has been subjected, on the part of the European investigators, on account of his most florid style and his flattery, as regards the Mongolian conquerors, his work, by the completeness and preciseness of its information, was certainly superior to the earlier works of Persian historians. It is an indispensable source, unrivalled for the study of the Mongol conquests. We know only from Yuwayni's work about the activities of certain Mongolian detachments.

¹ About it (together with a bibliographical list) my "Turkistan", II, 39. sf. also Rieu, Catalogue of Pers. Man. 72, Elliot, Hist. of India, II, 259-383. An edition and translation of the "Nāsir's tables" have entered the series "Bibliotheca Indica".—

² Thus, in an article by E. G. Browne (JRAS, 1904, 32) without any mention of source; later, in 1920 (Hist. of Pers. literature etc., 66) E. G. Browne himself wrote regarding that chapter that it is "probably on addition by a later hand," although in the introduction to the edition of this work (p. XIII; Persian Introduction, p. 83) that supplementary chapter is also ascribed to Nāsiru-d-Din Tusi.—

Amongst others, Edw. G. Browne wrote about the injustice of the attacks on Juwayni and on the necessity of the publication of his work, and devoted to Juwayni, besides several pages of his "Literary history of Persia",¹ a special article² and expressed at that time his intention of including Juwayni's work in the series of "Persian historical texts", which was being published by him. That plan did not materialise, but at a later date, Juwayni's work, found a place in another series, viz. the E.G.W. Gibb Memorial Series, vol. XVI. The Editor (a learned Persian, Mirza Muhamad Qazwini) who collected with due attention in the preface (the English translation of the same has been made by Edw. G. Browne) the available information, about the author and his work, collated carefully different manuscripts, but did not possess the necessary erudition for establishing the correct spellings of proper names, especially Mongolism, and thus, in that respect his work cannot satisfy the demands of a "critical edition." No translation of Juwayni's work, not even an abridged one, has so far appeared. Only separate chapters of it have been translated.

Juwayni's continuator was the historian Wassaf in the 14th century, who began his work in the spring of 1300, finished the first four parts and presented them to the Sultan in 1312, and later on in 1328, annexed to them a fifth part. His work is brought down to the year 1319³. Wassaf's work has a still more rhetorical style than that of Juwayni and the use of it is in consequence extremely wearisome for a European reader. At the same time, however it contains a great deal of interesting information, based on facts. According to Edw. G. Browne's remark⁴ (put somewhat ingeniously), "we should have more willingly forgiven the author were his work less available as an original source for the period, to which it is

1 More especially II, 473; History of Pers. Lit., 65 ff.

2 JRAS, 1904, 27-43. The information given there is far from being complete; thus the author thinks (28 ff.) of the work of Juwayni only a passage is published in the "Persian Chrestomathy" by Schefer; at that time, however, certain other passages were published and even translated. These details have been later mentioned in my article "Djuwaini" in the ET, I, 1116.—

3 W. Barthold, Turkistan, II, 49 ff.—

4 Hist. of Persian Lit., 68.—

devoted but in fact, it is as important as unreadable." A complete lithographical edition of Wassaf's work was published in Bombay (1853) but only the first part has appeared in a European edition, and translation *Hammer-Purgstall, Geschichte Wassaf Wien 1856.*

For the fifth part of his work, Wassaf was able to use "the collection of Annals" (Jami-ut-Tawarikh) of Rashid-ud-Din, which is the last word in Persian historiography¹. A medical man by profession, Rashid-ud-Din, in his 60th year, became the historian of the Mongolian ruler of Persia Ghazan-Khan (1295-1304); in his 70th, he became the theologian of his brother and successor, the Sultan Uljaytu (1304-1316). At the same time, he was actually at the head of the Mongolian administration in Persia. During the rule of the next Sultan Abu-Said he was charged with having poisoned Uljaytu and executed in 1318. Ghazan-Khan entrusted him with the compilation of the history of the Mongols; besides, Persian sources, and especially the work of Juwayni, he made use for his work of the Mongolian official chronicles kept in the Khan's treasury and called "The Golden Book" (Altyn-Daptar). Only the members of the royal family and the most distinguished Mongolian nobles had access to it. Rashid-ud-Din was able to use it, as well as other Mongolian chronicles owing to the nobleman Pulad, who arrived from China in 1286 on a mission from his king and remained in Persia against the will of the latter. Pulad was considered to be the greatest authority on Mongolian tradition. A considerable part of the work was devoted to events which took place during the author's life, in some of which he even must himself have taken part, as the history is brought down to the death of Ghazan-Khan. The author entered Government service, during the reign of Abaza-Khan (1265-1282). Whenever he had to use Persian written sources, abstracts were made for him by other persons. One of these co-workers "Abdullah-Kashani" calls himself in another work the author of the "Collection of Annals" and accuses

¹ Particulars about the author and his work are given by me in the "World of Islam", 1919, 73-104. — (in Russian). —

~~Rashid-ud-Din~~ of appropriating the work of another. But the style of Abdullah Kashani is similar to that of Rashid-ud-Din only where they both have been using written sources and according to the custom of mediaeval compilers, had copied their text almost without any alteration. Wherever they speak about events of their own time, they write in quite a different style. Abdullah Kashani is an historian by profession. His style corresponds to the traditions of Persian historiography of the 13th century; Rashid-ud-Din, whether he avails himself of the Mongolian traditions, or writes about events personally known to himself, narrates them in the simplest style, without any of that "flourish", which was required by the rules of Persian eloquence. He annexed later on to the history of the Mongols that of India, of Turkish peoples of China, of the Hebrews and of the Franks (Europeans). That part was compiled with the help of such representatives of these peoples as were considered to be experts in the history of their compatriots. There are mentioned amongst them the Kashmirian hermit Kamalashri and two Chinese scholars. Further on he added to this the history of the Ismail sect before the conquest of their castles by the Mongols in 1256¹, and finally the history Persia and of the Muslim world based on Muslim written sources. In this last part of his work Rashid-ud-Din was, of course, merely a compiler. The order of the compilation of the "Collection of Annals" is determined by dates mentioned in the text. During the recopying of the work, a somewhat different order was obviously followed, although the order of chapters and even that of volumes varies in different manuscripts² and it is difficult to tell from the copies which have reached us, whether any definite recension of Rashid-ud-Din's work was ever made. The last volume ought to have contained a geographical supplement with a description of all the existing trade-routes of the Mongolian empire. There is reason to suppose that that particular volume was never compiled.

As a body of historical material Rashid-ud-Din's work is a unique phenomenon of its kind in the literature of the world. Neither before him nor afterwards has any attempt been made to compile a body of historical information about all nations from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific, with the collaboration of representatives of the separate nations. Such work was bound to contribute to the widening of the historical horizons. Abdullah Kashani, Rashid-ud-Din's collaborator expresses that

1 About it e.g., "The World of Islam", I, 74.—

2 Information about it, though very incomplete, (only the Mss. of England, Paris, Vienna, Munich, Constantinople and Calcutta are taken into consideration) is collected by E. J. G. Browne in the JRAS, 1908, 17-31; there also a plan of the publication of the whole text in seven volumes is proposed independently of the order followed in the Mss. (cf. also Hist. of Pers. Lit., 74).—

opinion that the history of the Arabs and the Persians is merely one of the rivers falling into the sea of world history, whilst European scholars even now-a-days have very often the tendency to understand under the term of world-history solely the history of the Romano-Germanic world. As regards the problem of historical criticism, the author, or more correctly the editor of the "Collection of Annals" was wholly unaware of such a thing. He also had little thought of presenting a general picture of the world history. His sole object was to give an account of the traditions of every people in the way they were narrated by representatives of these peoples; being true to his purpose he narrated traditions, which were quite opposed to the Muslim creed, and he made no concessions to the literary tastes of his epoch.

A rather extensive literature already exists in connection with the "Collection of Annals". Nevertheless, we still have no complete edition of that work, and many questions connected with it are not sufficiently elucidated. Thus, Edw. G. Browne declares¹ that the historian Banakiti, who wrote in 1317, completed Rashid-ud-Din's work by adding some new information. As an example are mentioned, a piece of information regarding the history of Europe and a story about book-printing in China. In reality, these stories are borrowed from Rashid-ud-Din² and Banakiti's work is only a summary of the "Collection of Annals". The publishing of Rashid-ud-Din's work has been undertaken several times but has never been brought to completion. A part of the history of the Mongols, viz. the history of the Mongolian state in Persia, was intended to form a part in a magnificent series, planned under Louis-Phillippe "*Collection Orientale Manuscripts inedits de la Bibliotheque Royale traduits et publies par ordre du Roi*". Quatremere was entrusted with the execution of that work. In 1836 appeared the first volume, containing the text and a translation of the preface of Rashid-ud-Din and the history of the reign of Hulagu (1256-1265). At the beginning of the volume was placed a classical (like all Quatremere's works) investigation as to the life and works of Rashid-ud-Din *Historie des Mongols de la Perse ecrite en Persan par Raschid-eddin publiee, traduite en francais, accompagnee de notes et d'un memoire sur la vie et les avarages de l'auteur par M. Quatremere*.

¹ Hist. of Pers. Lit 101 ff.

² The narrative by Rashid-ud-Din regarding the art of printing in China had already been published by Bar. V. Rosen at that time (Collection scientifiques de l'Inst. des Langues Orientales, III, 108 ff.).—

Of Russian scholars, Y. N. Berezin made up his mind to publish and to translate "The History of the Mongols". That edition formed part of the "Works of the Oriental section of the Russian Archaeological Society". There were published first, the translation, then the text of the introduction (concerning Turkish and Mongolian tribes) and afterwards the text and the translation together of the history of Chingiz-Khan in two volumes. After that, publications and the translation of the work were stopped, although in 1870, in Dugas, "*Histoire des Orientalistes de l'Europe*" Berezin's biography contains the statement that the whole of the history of Chingiz-Khan and his successors upto the history of the Persian Mongols was translated by him. "The Collection of Annals", "The History of the Mongols" by Rashid-ud-Din in the Works of the Oriental Section of the Russian Archaeological Society, parts v (1858), vii (1861), xiii (1868) and xv (1888).

Finally in 1903¹, the question of the publication of Rashid-ud-Din's Works, this time, without any translation, was again raised by publishers of the Gibb Memorial Series. E. Blochet was charged with this edition; but it was decided to have published first, the second volume (the history of Chingiz-Khan's successors in Mongolia, Central Asia and China upto the beginning of the 14th century), as the parts, which had to be included in the first volume (the introduction and the history of Chingiz-Khan) had already been published by Berezin. Upto the beginning of the year 1908, as many as 21 folios of that volume were in proofs². The whole volume (617 pages of the text with detailed notes and 72 annexed pieces) did not appear before 1911 (Vol. xiii of the Series). A year before the editor published, also in the Gibb Memorial Series (Vol. xii) as an introduction to that edition, a rather unsuccessful investigation on the "History of the Mongols"³.

After that, the enterprise stopped. At present, as I am informed, the editors of the Gibb Memorial Series are trying to take it up again, and have transmitted the charge of the edition to another person on account of Blochet's refusal to continue the same.

For Persian historiography, Rashid-ud-Din's work could not have remained without influence, but it had no such results as might have been expected from it. Towards the beginning of the 14th century, the literary tastes were firmly established, in such a way that in a historical work, its completeness and genuineness occupied only the second place, whilst the primary object was its outward literary form. The above-men-

1 J.R.A.S., 1908, 37.—

2 Ibid., 29.

3 Cf. my review in the "World of Islam", I, 56 ff.—

tioned imitations of Firdusi's "Shah-Nameh", which existed in the pre-Mongolian period as well, although these have not come down to us, are especially characteristic of that trend of mind. Thus a "Shah-in-Shah Nameh", in honour of the Kharizmshah Muhammad (1200-1220)¹ is mentioned. After the 14th century, these attempts became more frequent. Thus Rashid-ud-Din's work produced no less than four rhymed chronicles, devoted partly to the history of the Muslim World, up to the time of the Mongols², partly, and more particularly to the history of the Mongols³; but they did not possess any poetical merits.

The author of one of those rhymed chronicles Hamdullah Qazwini is at the same time, the author of two other works one geographical, the other historical. His historical work, "The Choice History" is brought up to the year 1329. Edw. G. Browne intended to publish it in his series of "Persian historical texts", as an "excellent historical manual"⁴. Later on, it was included in the Gibb Memorial Series, and this time Edw. G. Browne, calls it a "useful compendium" of Persian and Islamic history. Hamdullah Qazwini is somewhat dependent on Rashid-ud-Din but not to such a degree as Banakiti, with whom Edw. G. Browne compares him in that respect. He uses sometimes other sources, when he in dealing with the history of pre-Mongolian dynasties. In the chapter devoted to the Mongols in spite of the conciseness of his narration, he now and again gives some interesting information, which cannot be found in Rashid-ud-Din's work. The Gibb Memorial Series (Vol. xiv, parts I and II) besides publishing the text, contains also an abridged translation. Nevertheless, the information given by Edw. G. Browne, about the "Choice History", both in the preface to his edition and translation of the same, and at a later time, in his "History of Persian literature"⁵ remains incomplete. When

1 Muh. Awfi, Lubābu'l-Albāh, ed. by E. G. Browne, II, 345.—

2 "Zafar-Nama" by Hamdullah Qazwini Ms. of the British Museum. Or. 2838; Hist. of Pers. Lit., 95 ff

3 The chronicle by Shams-ud-Din Kashani, Ms. of the Bibliotheque Nationale of Paris No. 1443. Blochet, Introd. a l'histoire des Mongols, 94 ff.—"Shāhinshāh Nama" or "Chingiz-Nama" by Ahmad Tabrizi, Ms. of the British Museum, Or. 2780 Rieu, Supplement, p 135); "Ghazan-Nama" by Nur-ud-Din B. Shams-ud-Din Muhammad, Ms. belonging to E. G. Browne (Hist of Pers. Lit. 103).—

4 "Excellent historical manual" JRAS, 1909, 721.—

5 Hist. of Pers. Lit., 87-95.

enumerating the chapters, which were accessible in the printed editions before 1910, Edw. G. Browne does not mention either the chapter about the Samanids published by Schefer¹, nor the chapter about the Seljuqs, translated by Defremery². Edw. G. Browne was also not aware of the fact that Hamdullah Qazwini did in the course of time complete his work up to the year 741 (1340-1) and that his son Zayn-ud-Din continued his father's work up to the conquest of Persia by Timur. While publishing the text, Edw. G. Browne confined himself to a facsimile reproduction of one single manuscript, which is far from being the best of the existing manuscripts, although the number of manuscripts according to his words is considerable. Probably the best one amongst them (it seems the only one which contains the sequel to the work as completed by the author himself and his son) is to be found in the library of University of Leningrad (No. 153).

The historico-geographical work of the same author "The delight of the hearts" (*Nuzhat-ul-Qutub*) compiled in 1339 represents a still wider interest. Like all Persian geographers, Hamdullah Qazwini used largely the Arabic geographical literature of the 10th century but contrary to the practice of many other authors, even Arabs, he completes and corrects the text of his predecessors, basing himself on the information of his own time. The information given by him as regards trade-routes and the productiveness of individual districts, both under the Mongols and the Seljuqs, is of great interest. He used an official description of the country, composed during the reign of Sultan Malik-Shah (1072-1092)³ which has not come down to us. The work of Hamdullah Qazwini, like many other works (as for instance, the work of the Arabic author of the 13th century, Zakariya Qazwini) was divided into two parts, a cosmographical and a geographical. The text and the translation of the geographical part have been included in the Gibb Memorial Series (V-xxii parts I & II). The monetary system of the Monoglian period has remained obscure for the translator⁴ (*G. Le Strange*) here as in other works⁵, and in consequence, his notes to the translation may deceive the reader.

1 In the edition of Narshokht (v.s p. 70), 99—III.—

2 JAs., 4, XI, XII, XIII, (1848-9). cf. my "Turkistan", II, 51, where vol. XIII is omitted.—

3 Cf. my essay "On a Persian Inscription on the wall of the Mosque Manucha at Ani" (in Russian), 1911, (Ani—Series, No. 5), 20, and earlier Zapiski, XIX, 131.—

4 P. 32 ff. of the translation.—

5 Cf. Ani—Series, No. 5, p. 44.—

Earlier the text was accessible only in the Oriental lithographed edition. Separate chapters, dealing with Persia, were moreover published by Schefer in the above mentioned (p. 69) supplement to his edition of the work of the Wazir Nizam-ul-Mulk.

The development of Persian historiography was still more furthered by the events which took place at the end of the 14th century and at the beginning of the 15th century, connected with the formation of the Empire of Timur (Tamerlane) and his descendants. Three versions of the official history compiled by Timur's order have reached us, but the last, definitive version belongs to a somewhat later period. The author of that work Sharaf-ud-Din wrote more than 20 years after the death of Timur and dedicated his work to Timur's grandson. Only the first version in its whole was published in Russia (in the West, it is almost unknown)¹. The question of its relation to the second and the third versions has been circumstantially examined in the prefaces by the publisher, (the late L. A. Zimin) and the editor². "The Book of the Victory" (*Zafar-Nama*) by Sharaf-ud-Din was published in India without the author's preface, devoted to the review of the history of the Mongol state. There exists an obsolete French translation made in the 18th century, in which the author's preface is also omitted³.

Besides that chief official history, which very often acquired, especially in its final version, the character of a panegyric, there are several other works, which were written for the earlier descendants of Timur, and have been preserved for the most part, only in one or two manuscripts, the names of their authors being moreover not always known. Amongst all that literature⁴ "the most important are the historico-geographical work by Hafiz-Abru (incomplete and bearing no title) and the historical work by the same author, compiled during the second and third decades of the 15th century, and which both are in some way, as was the work of Rashid-ud-Din in its time, a digest of the totality of the historical material, which was known in Persia at that epoch. From the few data brought to light up

1 E. G. Browne (*Hist. of Pers. Lits*, 361) does not mention it.—

2 "Texts relative to the history of Central Asia", fasc I, 1915.—

3 Cf. my "Turkistan" II, 55.—

4 To which I had to return several times; besides the Texts relative to the history of Central Asia", see also "Zapiski" XV, 226; XII, 04 ff.; XVIII, 0138 ff.; 20 ff.; collected articles of Bar. Rosen's pupils, 1837, 1 ff.; "Izvestiya", 1914, 879 ff.; 1915, 1965, ff.; Ulughbek and his time, 1918, 113 ff.; 159 ff.—

to the present¹, it is possible to consider it as an established fact that Hafiz-i-Abru wrote in the first instance, not later than 1414, a chronicle on the first years of the reign of Shahrukh (1405-1413) in his introduction to which he gave also an outline of the reign of Timur. In 1414 or 1415, he was commissioned to translate an Arabic geographical work and to complete it from other sources. That was the origin of his anonymous geographical work in which the regions of the Muslim World are described, more or less, in the same order as that adopted by most of the Arab geographers of the 10th century: Arabia, the Indian Ocean, Africa, Spain, the Mediterranean islands, Egypt, Syria, and the regions of Asia and Persia, from West to East. In the last four chapters, dealing with Fars, Kerman, Khorasan, and Mavarannahr, a historical description of each of these regions is annexed to the respective geographical descriptions of the same.

Most of the existing manuscripts of that work end with the chapter on Khorasan, which was compiled in 1420. One of the existing manuscripts (in Oxford) contains also the geographical description of Mavarannahr, composed in the same year. An historical sketch of Mavarannahr ought to have followed it, but it is missing in that manuscript and it is not known, whether it ever was written at all.

Whilst the compilation of that work was still going on², the author was entrusted in 1417 with the composition of a compendium on world-history. He included in it i. e. copied to the letter, Tabari's work in Balami's recension, which was brought up to 908, a passage from Rashid-ud-Din's work on the Abbasid Caliphs, from 908 upto the conquest of Baghdad by the Mongols in 1258. The remaining part of Rashid-ud-Din's work, which he divided into 2 volumes: (1) the history of the Mongols up to the period of 1304; (2) Universal history, comprising first the history of Muslim dynasties, then the history of the Turks, the Chinese, the Hebrews, the Franks, and the Indians. Finally, the history of Timur in its second recension, which belonged to the pen of Nizam-ud-Din Shami, and was brought up to 1403. To all this Hafiz-i-Abru adjoins from his own works; (1) as a sequel to Rashid-ud-Din's work a

¹ These data have remained unknown to E. G. Browne (Hist. of Pers. Lit., 424 ff.) for whom in 1920 all the information about Hafiz-i-Abru seems to be limited to the data given in the catalogues by Rieu of 1879, and 1895. Not to speak of works written in Russian, even the article on Hafiz-i-Abru in the "Encyclopedia of Islam" has been altogether neglected by him. In the same way also in the "Grundriss" (II, 576 and 579) both the Oxford Mss. unrecognized in the Catalogue by E. Sachau and H. Ethé are marked as works by "anonymous authors".—

² In some manuscripts the prefaces and sometimes even whole chapters from the two marks are joined together.—

history of the Mongolian state in Persia from the year 1304 up to the time of Timur; (2) as a sequel to Nizam-ud-Din's work a history of the last years of the reign of Timur, and that of Shahrukh up to 1416.

In 1423, Hafiz-i-Abru started to compose an original work on Universal History dedicated by him to the son of Shahrukh, the learned prince Baisenghur, but this time, while writing about the first period he did not confine himself to using only the "Persian Tabari" but availed himself of other sources as well. This work known under the name of the "Cream of Annals" (*Zublat-ut-tawarikh*, or else (in quotations) also as "The collection of Annals" (*Majma-ut-tawarikh*) was divided into four volumes. The first one contained pre-Islamic history, the second the history of Muhammad and the Caliphs, the third the history of the Eastern Islamic and Mongolian dynasties; the fourth fell into two sections—the history of Timur and the history Shahrukh. Up to this time¹, the third volume and the first part of the second have not been found. The second part of the fourth volume is of great interest. It is preserved in a single and moreover, very indifferent manuscript in Oxford, from which it can be seen that the last event, which Hafiz-i-Abru (he died in 1430) lived to relate, was the attempt on the life of Shahrukh, on the 21st of February, 1427. The last folios of that manuscript which contained an account of further events of the same year (the text breaks off in the middle of the work) belong to an unknown continuator, who wrote also, while Shahrukh was still alive, i.e. upto 1447. Hafiz-i-Abru's work has served as the chief source of Abdur-Razzaq Samarqandi, who was the author of a work, compiled in the second half of the 15th century, and entitled "The Place of Rising of two lucky constellations and place of the function of two seas" (*Matlau:s-sadayn wa Majman-l-bah-rayn*) containing the history of the events which took place from 1304 to 1471, and divided into two volumes, the one dealing with events, which happened before the death of Timur, and the other treating of the events after his death.

In the compilation of chronicles, during the 15th century the system of Annals was widely adopted, which was, in the pre-Islamic period, one

¹ E. G. Browne (*Hist. of Pers. lit.*, 425) knows only manuscripts of the first two volumes. He has got in his possession an excellent copy of the second volume written during the author's lifetime, in Herat the place where the author used to live and in the very year of the composition of that part of the work (1425). —

of the chief features of Arabian historiography, as opposed to the system prevalent in Persia. The later Persian historians remained mostly faithful to this system, especially so the authors of historical works, dealing with individual reigns (in Persia, India and Central Asia). Sometimes, events were not recorded after the years of the Muslim lunar era, but after the Turkish duadecimal (solar) animal cycle (the order of years, the Mouse, the Bull, the Leopard, the Hare, the Crocodile, the Snake, the Horse, the Sheep, the Monkey, the Fowl, the Dog and the Hog), as for instance, in the history of Shah Abbas the Great (1587-1628) compiled by Iskander Munshi¹. The author says, that in his time, reckoning by years of the Muslim era was unintelligible for the great mass of the population of Persia². Still more often, the cycle-era was made use of in historical works, written in Turkestan. Sometimes, dates of both eras are mentioned together; whenever there is a contradiction between the two dates, one has to take it that the mistake lies in the Muslim date because the population was much better acquainted with the era of the cycle.

Works on Universal history were written more seldom in the form of Annals. An exception to the rule is the collective work,³ compiled in India, by order of the Emperor Akbar (1556-1605) on the occasion of the approaching millennium of Islam and therefore called "Tarikh-i-Alfi" ("The Millenary history"). Events were narrated, not according to the era of Muhammad's flight from Mecca to Medina, but according to the era of the Prophet's death introduced by Akbar, in connection with his plans of religious reform, which provoked a certain animosity towards Islam⁴. Reckoning by that era, the narrative is brought up to 974 (lunar chronology) i. e. upto 984 of the Hijra (1576-7) the Millenary of Islam was, however, completed only in 1592. The compilation of that chronicle began in 1585.

In works on Universal history, events were narrated for the most part in the old manner, that is to say, not in a strictly annual form but in the order of dynasties. Amongst such works, the best known work, both in the East and in Europe, was that by Mir-khwand (died in 1498). "The Garden of Purity about the Life of the

1 See for it, for instance, Rieu, Pers. Mss., 185 ff.

2 Isk. Munshi, Pers. lith, ed., II, 251.—

3 About him Grundriss II, 357; Rieu Pers Mss., 185 ff., Supplement, No. 424; Elliot, Hist. of India, V, 115 ff.

4 R. Garbe, Kaiser Akbar von Indien, 1909, 36.

Prophets, the Kings and the Caliphs" (Rawdatus-Safafi sirati-l-anbiya wa-l-muluk-wa-l-khulafa). The work is divided into seven volumes (1) pre-Islamic History, (2) Muhammad and the first four Caliphs (3) the twelve Shia Imams, the Omayyads and the Abbasids, (4) dynasties contemporay with the Abbasids, especially in Persia and in India, (5) the Mongolian empire, (6) Timur and the Timurids upto 1469, (7) the reign of Sultan Husayn (1469-1506) in the time of Mirkhwand; a geographical supplement is annexed to the end of the work. According to Rieu¹, the 6th volume must have been compiled before all the rest, the year 879 (1474-5) being mentioned there as the date of its compilation. The 7th volume was merely begun by Mir Khwand and belongs for the greater part to the pen of his grandson, Khwand Amir. Khwand Amir's hand has certainly also been active in the compilation of the geographical supplement, which was written by Mir Khwand in 900 (1494-5).

Mir Khwand's work has been several times lithographed in the East (in Teheran, Bombay and Lucknow). No complete edition or translation has been made of it in Europe. A list of European editions and translations of its separate chapters was compiled by Elliot². It can be seen from that list, that several chapters have been published and translated twice, as for instance, the chapter about the Samanids into Latin in 1808, and into French in 1845. The French translator, however, points out Mir Khwand's superficiality as historian³.

Quotations from Mir Khwand are generally made very often in European literature and only recently, since the publication of several of his sources, do they begin to be replaced by quotations from earlier authors. Mir Khwand's compilation is, however, still of some importance even in our days because some of the sources used by him have since been lost. Thus, we do not find anywhere in the work of any of the earlier authors, such a detailed account of the campaign of Ulugh-Bek, against the Mongols in 1425⁴ as the one given by Mir Khwand. The fact, that Mir Khwand's work has been translated into Osmanli-Turkish

1 Rieu, Pers. Mss., 92.

2 Hist. of India, IV, 132 ff.

3 Mirkhond, Histoire des Samanides, texte persan, trad. par M. Defrémery, 247 —

4 The text has been published by me in the appendix to the essay on "Ulugh-bek and his time".

and into Central-Asian Turkish¹, bears testimony to its great popularity in the East even as late as the 19th century. Amongst Persian historians of our days, Riza Quli Khan Lalabashi has continued the work of Mir Khwand in his "Nasir's Garden of Purity" (*Rawdatu-s-safa-i-Nasiri*) written, for Nasir-ud-Din Shah 1848-1896. This sequel to Mir Khwand's work occupies three volumes (8th, 9th and 10th) and brought upto the year 1853.

Not so frequently as the work of Mir Khwand, but still very often are quoted the works of his grandson, Khwand Amir². Amongst them "The Essence of information in the exposition of the circumstances of virtuous men" (~~*Khulasatu-l-akhtar*~~ *bayani ahwali-l-akhyar*) was written by the author in the time of his youth in 909 (1499-1500), and represents an abridgement of his grandfather's work³. It has an introduction, ten sections (*maqala*) and a conclusion. The latter contains a description of Herat, where the author lived at that time, and some biographical information regarding his contemporaries. One of the chapters of that work devoted to the Mongols, has been translated into Russian by V. Grigoriev⁴. Another work by Khwand-Amir is of great importance. It is called "The Friend of Biographies in the records about prominent men." (*Habibu-s-siyar fi akhtari asradd-l-bashar*). It is divided into 3 volumes (*mujallad*) each volume containing 4 sections (*juz*). A geographical supplement is placed at the end. The first volume is brought up to the time of the four first Caliphs, the second up to the advent of the Mongols, the third up to 1524 A.D. This work, lithographed in Persia and India is really interesting⁵, chiefly because it gives ~~biographical information~~ regarding literary and other notables of every reign. Of other compilations on Universal history may be mentioned the "Substance of Chronicles" (*Lubbu-t-tawarikh*) by Amir Yahya Qazwini written in 1542, and brought upto the same year. It is divided into four parts: (1) Muhammad and the twelve Shiya

1 This translation is mentioned in an unpublished history of Khiva (Mss. in the As, Mus, 5900 b., f. 194 C.). Some work in that direction seems to have been done in the 20th c., as well cf., the report by A. D. Kalmykar in the Proceedings of the Turk. Circle of Lovers of Archaeology, XII, 57.--

2 The fact that Khwand-Amir was not the son, as it was supposed before, but the grandson of Mir-Khwand, has been pointed out by Rieu, Pers. Mss., 96.--

3 In the Hist. of India, IV, 144, the work by Khwand-Amir is mentioned as "a most able compendium of Asiatic history".--

4 V. Grigoriev. A history of the Mongols from the earliest times upto Tamerlan, (in Russian)—Transl. from Persian.—St. Petersburg, 1834.--

5 Cf. mentions of these lithographs in my "essay on Ulugh-bek and his time",—Index, under "the word "Khwand-Amir", 157 and 160.--

Imams, (2) pre-Islamic kings, (3) Muslim rulers (4) the Sefevids. That work was one of the first, if not actually the first Persian work, which became known in Europe. Pietro de la Valle, who stayed in Persia from 1617 to 1623, translated it into Italian under the title: 'Midolla delle istorie';¹ in 1783, it appeared in a Latin translation under the title "Medulla Historiarum".

Sources for the history of Persia from the 16th century to the 19th century² are as vast and numerous, as they are little-systematised, and investigated; only few years ago, the very existence was not known of a work in three volumes by Muhammad Kazim Wazir of the Metropolitan city of Merv, containing the history of Nadir-Shah (1736-1747), and yet that work³ compiled by a contemporary of the Shah, as regards the wealth of information contained therein, is by far superior to all other works on the history of that reign, including even the best known of all such works, the history by Mahdi-Khan translated into French and English in the 18th century⁴. Amongst the works on the history of the Qajar dynasty, that of Abdur Razzaq Bek "The Royal illustrious acts" (*Maathir-i-Sultaniyya*) has been translated in 1241 (1825-26) (the work itself is brought up to the same year) was the first book printed in Persia⁵.

European historiography has little influenced that of Persia, upto our days⁷. Amongst authors of more modern Persian works on history and geography, greater attention was apparently paid to the requirements of European research by Muhammad-Hasan Khan (died in 1896), who bore first the title Sanju-d-Dawla and towards the end of his life that

1 *Viaggi di Pietro della Valle il Pellegrino*, II, 183, quotations from the same work *ibid.* 262, 265 and 330. About P. della Valle and his travels see my work "A history of Oriental Studies" (in Russian) 1911, 102 ff.—

2 Rieu, *Pers. Mss.*, 104.—

3 Amongst them the "Tarikh-i-Haydari" by Haydari Razi deserves a special mention on account of the author's comparatively wide outlook and the abundance of material. About it of more especially the Berlin catalogue by Perten (*Verzeichniss*), No. 418 and my article "Haidar Razi" in the *E. T.*, II, 231.—

4 About it "Izvestiya", 1919, 927 ff.—

5 Rieu, *Pers. Mss.* 192.—

6 Rieu, *Supplement*, Nos. 68—69 About other works on the history of the Qajar dynasty see "Grundriss", II, 604.—

7 About translations of marks on the history of Napoleon I, see Comte. A. de Gobineau, *Troisans en Asie*, 169.—

of I'timadu-s-Saltana, The following works belong to his pen:¹ (1) "The methodical Nasirian history" (*Tarikh-i-Muntazain-i-Nasiri*)—the narration is according to years, besides which the events of every year are divided into two rubrics the Asiatic and the European. Amongst European events, only the most important are mentioned; (2) "The Nasirian Mirror of Cities" (*Miratu-l-buldan-i-Nasiri*) a geographical dictionary containing some historical information, (3) The "Rising of the Sub" (*Matlau-sh-Shams*) and historico-geographical work on Khorasan, where the author travelled in the suite of Nasiru-d-Din Shah. The late Prof. V. A. Zhukovsky calls it a capital work². It contains, besides geographical information, a great deal of valuable archaeological material; old sites and buildings are described sufficiently in detail, with indications as to their dimensions. A great deal of historico-geographical information is also contained in the diary of "The Journey to Khorasan" written in the name of the Shah himself.

Persian literature does not, generally speaking, possess many descriptions of travels which are certainly the most valuable sources for history, more specially so, with regard to the history of culture. Amongst the few, probably, the most important is the description of a journey from Merv to Arabia and Egypt and back to Balkh, between 1046 and 1052 by Nasir-i-Khosrow, the poet and religious propagandist. It was published and translated by Schefer (there exists besides, a Tehran edition of 1312 A. H. 1894-5 A. D.) *Sefer Nameh. Relation du voyage de Nasiri Khosan etc. public. traduit, et annote par T. Schefer Paris 1881.*

The number of works on the geography and history of individual districts of Persia is quite considerable. Acad. Dorn published between 1850 and 1858 a series of editions, dealing with the Caspian districts, under the general title *Muhammedanische Quellen zur Geschichte der sudlichen Kustenlander des Kaspischen Meeres*". The work by Ibn-Isfandayar (13th century) on the history of the same districts (edited by Edw. G. Browne was published in the Gibb Memorial Series (v-ii) only in an abridged translation, without the text, and later (1921, new series, v-i) the work by Ibn-al-Balkhi 12th on Fars (the text alone, edited by Le Strange)³ appeared in the same series.

1 Information about him and a full list of his works are found in a article by V. Zhukovsky in the "Zapiski", X, 184-191.—An unfavourable mention about Muhammad Husan is found in E. G. Browne, The Persian Revolution, 1910, 405.

2 Zapiski, X 189, note 4.

3 A translation of the geographical part has been published by Le strange in the JRAS, 1912 (1-30, 311-339, 855-889) and separately in the "Asiatic Monographs", vol. XIV.—

The Persian language was also the chief literary language of the Kurds, independent of Persia, in the West of the Afghans and the Tajiks of the Middle Ages, and became so in course of time, even with the Turks of Central Asia in the East, not to mention India, where historical works in Persian have been written probably in greater numbers than in Persia itself. The chief work on the history of Kurds, the *Sharaf-Nameh*, by Sharaf Khan or Sharaf-ud-Din, prince of Bidlis (Bidlis is a city to the West of Lake Van) compiled in 1597, was published in Russia by V. V. Veliaminoo Zernov and translated into French by F. B. Charmoy. *Chîref Nameh ou fastes de la nation kourde par Chîref-ouddine Prince de Bidlis Traduits du Persan et comments par F. B. Charmoy St. P. 1868-75*¹.

A work on the history of the Afghans was compiled in 1613, long before the foundation of an Afghan state, during the reign of the Great Moghuls, who held under their sway the greater part of present-day Afghanistan, including Kabul, by Haji Nimatullah, under the title of "The Afghan Treasury" (*Makhzan-i-Afghan*); Acad. Dorn translated into English an abridged recension of this work—*B. Dorn, History of the Afghans, translated from the Persian of Neamatullah Lon. 1829-1836*. It is the only one of the "many" works devoted to the history of the Afghans, which is mentioned in the "Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie". In the "Encyclopaedia of Islam"², two more works are named dealing with the history of the founder of the Afghan State, Ahmad Shah Dureani (1747-1773.) One of these two works, the "*Tarikh-i-Ahmad*" by Abdul-Karim, written in the 19th century, represents merely paraphrase of "Husayn Shahi" by Imam-ud-Din Chishti³, compiled at the end of the 18th century. Another the "*Tarikh-i-Sultani*"⁴ is a compilation written in the second half of the 19th century. Of more interest is the work, "*Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*" by Mahmud-al-Husayni, a contemporary of Ahmad Shah, which is preserved only in one manuscript in the British Museum⁵. The autobiography of Abdur-Rahman Khan (1880-1190) aroused some interest even among the larger public. The English translation of it is contained in the first volume of the book by Sultan Muhammed Khan, *Life of Abdur Rahman London 1900*⁶.

1 Cf. also Grundriss, II, 362, where the existence of an autograph by the author in the Bodleian Library in Oxford is mentioned

2 Articles "Afghanistan" and "Ahmed Shah" ET, I, 183 and 216.—

3 Oskar Mann in ZDMG, LII, 109 ff.—

4 The name of the author, is quoted by O. Manu (ibid. 113) differently from the ET.

5 ZDMG, LII, 99 ff.—

6 ET, I, 65.—

The historical literature of Central Asia reached a certain state of development only from the 16th century. The history of earlier events which took place in Central Asia before the epoch of Timur and the Timurids is known to us mostly from works, written in Persia. Under the later Timurids and during the period of the earlier Uzbek Khans, there prevailed a tendency to write in Turkish, which also affected the domain of historical literature. The history of the Mongols by Rashid-ud-Din and the History of Timur by Sharaf-ud-Din¹ were translated into Turkish for Kunkunchi Khan, 1512-1531, by Muhammad Ali C. Darwish Ali Bukhari.

The works relative to the history of Shaybani-Khan,² himself and his nearest successors³ were also written in Turkish. Timur's descendant Babur, (born in 1482, died in 1530 A. D.) the adversary of Shaybani-Khan also wrote his memoirs in Turkish, which is, probably, the most remarkable document in the Turkish literature of Central Asia. About every thing that he had heard or experienced, the author gives a truthful, simple and clear account, without any of the rhetorical flourish after the fashion of the Persian historians of his time. Geographical descriptions, which found a place in his Memoirs, as for instance the description of Farghana and Samarkand, with its district, are considered with full justice as classical. Babur's work was first published in Russia (1857) by N. Y. Ilminsky. Attempts to translate it were made in Russia⁴ several times, but never brought to completion. In 1905, a facsimile of another and more correct manuscript (it composed the first volume of the Gibb Memorial Series) was published in England. Later (1921) an English translation with notes and additions from other sources was published by A. S. Beveridge. *The Memoirs of Babur. A new translation of the Babur, nama, incorporating Leyden and Erskine's⁵ of 1826 A. D.* The Persian language however was still widely used in the historical literature of Central Asia, even at the time of Shaybani and Babur; after their death it again acquired

1 "Zapiski" XV, 257 —

2 Ibid., 183.—

3 Ibid., 187—205.—

4 About it A. N. Samoilovitch, *Zapiski*, XVII, 074 ff, Ibid about the French translation by Pavet de Courteille (1871) also done from the Russian edition.

5 That translation was made from the Persian translation by Abdur-Rahim, of also Elliot, *Hist of India*, IV, 218, where it is said about the Memoirs of Babur that they are in no way inferior to the memoirs of Xenophen and only in some degree inferior to the memoirs by Julius Caesar.

a complete predominance over the Turkish language in that domain. The official history compiled by Shaybani's order was already during his life-time transposed into Persian verse in the manner of the imitations of the "Shah nameh", i.e. rhymed chronicles.¹ The chief documents of historical literature of the Khanate of Bukhara, from the 16th to the 19th century were composed in Persian. In 1884, F. Teufel² made an attempt to give an estimate of the work done by scholars in that field. He took into consideration, the sources of the 16th, 18th and 19th century, which had been made known by such Russian scholars as Veliaminov, Zernov,³ Senkovsky⁴ and Grigoriev,⁵ viz. Abdullah-Nama, Hafiz-i-Tanisha, Tazkir-i-Muqimkhani by Muhammad Yusuf Balkhi and the "Memoirs" of Mirza Shams-i-Bukhari. Of these scholars only Grigoriev had published the full text and translation of his source. S. Schefer published and translated a small work, compiled in Constantinople by Abdul-Karim, a refugee from Bukhara where, besides the information on the history of Bukhara itself, an account is also given of the history of Afghanistan, Khiva (after Nadir Shah) and Kokand.⁶ Finally, Teufel himself gave an account of the contents of a new source discovered by him in a manuscript, in the library of the University of St. Petersburg on the history of the reign of Ubaydullah of Bukhara (1702-1711), compiled by Mir Muhammad Amir. Teufel also pointed out the importance of the records of the Persian emigrant Vasifi, with regard to the history of the 16th century. Since then, a whole series⁷ of new sources have been discovered. Amongst them, the richest as to its contents is the work by Mahmud C. Vali, compiled in Balkh in 1630 A. D. "The Sea of Secrets" with regard to the high qualities of pious men" (Bahru-l-asrar fi manaqibi-l-akhyar) or (in another manuscript) "The Sea of Secrets with regard to knowledge (marifat) of pious men" As has been since then found out, the author had the intention to write a vast work, in seven volumes: (1) Cosmography and Astrology; (2) the pre-Islamic period; (3) Muhammad; (4) The Caliphs; (5) Eastern Muslim dynasties of the pre-Mongolian period; (6) Chinghiz-Khan and his descendants up to Nadir Muhammad Khan (at that time he ruled in Balkh

1 Zapisiski, XV, 176-187.—

2 ZDMG, XXXIII, 235 ff.—

3 More especially in his essay on Bukhara and Khiva coins (Proceedings of the Oriental Section of the Russian Archaeological Society, IV, 328 ff.

4 J. Senkovski, Supplement à l'histoire générale des ... ns etc., 1824.—

5 About certain events in Bukhara, Kokand and Kashgharia; Memoirs by Mirzâ Shams Bukhârî, 1861 (Learned Memoranda of the University of Kazan) —

Histoire de l'Asie Centrale par Abdul-Kerim Boukhary. 1876.

7 About it also Zapisiski, XV, 216 and 257.—

and afterwards in Bukhara; (7) Timur and his descendants in Central Asia and India upto Shah Jahan (1628-1659.) Each volume was divided into four sections. In Western Europe, only the fourth section of the sixth volume is known from a single manuscript (in London, in the library of the India Office).¹ Manuscripts of the three first sections of the same volume have been found in Tashkent² and Kokand³ and an incomplete copy of the first volume in Bukhara.⁴

The Turkish language was more frequently used in the historical literature of Khiva. The work of the Khan of Khiva Abul-Ghazi (born in 1603 died in 1663) "The (genealogical) tree of the Turks" (*Shajara-i-turk*) was also written in Turkish, although Abul-Ghazi who stayed for 10 years in Persia, hoped to translate his work at a later date into Persian. That work contains the history of the Turks and of the Mongols, besides the history of the Khanates of Central Asia, and particularly that of Khiva, up to the days of the authors. The last pages of it are written by Anush-Khan Abul Ghazi's son and successor who brought the narrative up to the time of his father's death. *Abo-ul-Ghazi Behadour Khan, Histoire des Mogols et des Tatares, Publique traduite et annotée par le Baron Desmaison, J. I. Teete, St. P. 1871, T. ii Introduction, 1874.*⁵

Abul-Ghazi affirms⁶ that he did not dispose of any written sources as regards the history of his ancestors, beginning from Chingiz-Khan's grandson, Shaybani-Khan. We know, however, that certain records of historical tradition existed in Khiva in the 16th century, one of the "Chingiz-Nama" by Utamish Ilaji has reached us in two manuscripts, of which one is at present in Tashkent, in the library of the Central Asian Government.⁷ The other, a much more complete one, used to belong to Ahmad Zaki Validov.⁸

1 Grundriss, II, 362. A fragment from that volume has been published by me (text and translation) in the Proceedings of the Russian Geographical Society, Section of ethnography, XXXIV (G. N. Potanin Memorial Volume, 1909,) 293-308.—

2 Zapiski, XV, 232 ff.

3 Ibid, XXII, 306.—

4 Ibid, XXIII, 255 ff., ibid. contents of the whole work.—

5 Another work by Abdul-Ghāzi "The Genealogical Tree of the Turkomans" (*Shajara-i-Tarākima*) has been translated by A. G. Tumansky (Ashkhabad 1897). About the Mss. of the original see A. N. Samoilovitch in the *Zapiski*, XVIII, 0161.—

6 Edited by Desmaisons text 72, translation 78.—

7 Zapiski, XV, 226-232.—

8 Ibid., XXII, 320.—

Contrary to the established custom, Abul-Ghazi Khan, was compelled to undertake the compilation of his history personally, because there was no educated man in his state, who might have been entrusted with such a charge. The Khan destined his work for the larger public and tried to write avoiding the use of any foreign words, in such a manner that it might be understood by a five-year child.¹ He is, in general, faithful to his promise, although certainly, he could not do altogether without Persian and Arabic words. Khiva was in another position at the beginning of the 19th century, when the founder of a new dynasty Iltazar-Khan, who assumed the title of Khan in 1804, entrusted a *mirab* (an official in charge of the irrigation) Shir Muhammad better known under his pen-name 'Munis' to write a history of the Khanate under the title, "The Paradise of Luck" (*Firdaus-i-Iqbal*) Munis continued his work during the reign of Muhammad Rahim Khan (1806-1825) the successor of Iltazar (who perished in 1806 during a war with Bukhara) and brought it up to 1812. After that, he was entrusted by order of the Khan, with a translation of Mir Khwand's work, and worked at it up to the time of his death, which took place in 1829, but did not complete even the second volume. Eleven years later in 1840 Allah-Qul Khan (1825-1840), entrusted one Muhammad Riza, a nephew of Munis, who bore the pen-name "Agahi" and who also was employed as *mirab* with the completion of the work of Munis on the history of Khiva. Agahi fulfilled that task, bringing the work of his predecessor up to the death of Muhammad Rahim Khan (1825) and then continued it up to 1872, consecrating a separate work, under a particular title to each of the reigns. Munis and Agahi wrote in Turkish in a less simple style than Abul-Ghazi, but, nevertheless, it is possible to read their works without any particular difficulty. The works by Munis and Agahi, which still remain in manuscript were used by me for several of my works.²

As regards the third Uzbek state, the Khanate of Kokand, which was formed in the 18th century, and reached its full development in the 19th century, Tenfel remarks that there were no native sources on the history of that Khanate up to the publication of the work by Abdul Karim Bukhari. At present, it has been established that such sources were sufficiently numerous. The language of the historical literature of

1 Edited by Desmaisons, text 37, translation 36.—

2 The article (in Russian) "Events preceding the expedition to Khiva in 1873 according to the narrative by a Khiva historian" (Kauffmann Series, 1910, 1-19). "A contribution to the history of the irrigation in Turkestan" (in Russian), 1914.

Kokand, like that of Bukhara was, moreover, Persian. One of these works, probably the most important one, "The Selected Chronicles" (*Muntakhabu-t-tawarikh*) by Haji Muhammad Hakim, ending with the year 1842, exists both in Persian and in Turkish, but it has been proved by the late W. D. Smirnov that the original was written in Persian.¹ Amongst all the sources on the history of the Khanate of Kokand up to our days, only one, and that not the best of them,² has been published in full (without any translation). With regard to other existing works, a great deal of information can be found scattered in different publications.³

Babur wrote his *Memoirs* in India in Turkish, but his successors were compelled to adopt the literary language of the Indian Muslims i. e. Persian. Babur's next successor Humayun (1530-1555) adopted already this practice, though the work bearing his name (*Humayun-Nama*) was not written by himself,⁴ but was entrusted by him to the historian Khwand-Amir. In remote Kashgharia, where historical literature was probably less developed than in all other Muslim countries, they wrote in Persian. There exists a remarkable work, "*Tarikh-i-Rashidi*" written in Kashmir and finished in 1547 by an emigrant from Kashgar, Mirza Muhammad Haydar or Haydar-Mirza, which contains personal reminiscences of the author and the history of the Mongolian Khans of Central Asia, from 1347. The work of Haydar-Mirza, though written in another language, recalls in many respects the *Memoirs* of his cousin—Babur, with which he was acquainted. The historical narration of Haydar-Mirza bears the same truthful and impartial character, and the chapters on geography are written in the same clear and concise manner. This work was translated twice into Turkish in Kashgharia and became known also in India, Turkestan and Persia. It is accessible to European readers in an English

- 1 Collections scientifiques de l'Institut des affaires étrangères, VIII, Manuscripts Turcs, 1897, 154 ff.
- 2 *Tarikh-i-Shāhrukhi*, the work of Mullah Niyāzi Md. etc. edited by N. N. Pantusov, Kazan, 1885. Abstracts from the work have been quoted by me in the *Turkestan-skiya Vedomosti*, 1878 (the article "A Native on the Russian conquest", Nos. 13, 14, 37 and 40) and in the *Zapiski*, XI, 105-114..
- 3 *Zapiski*, XV, 272 ff., XXII, 323-325; Proceedings of the Circle of Lovers of Archaeology, XVIII, (on the cover XVII) 31 ff. etc.
- 4 As obviously, supposed by T. Rosen (*ZDMG*, LXXVI, 104, schon sein Sohn and Nachfolger Kumayun bediente sich zum gleichen Zweck des Persischen) of *Hist. of India*, V, 116 ff. *Grundries* II, 357.—

translation. *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi of Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat, A history of the Moghuls of Central Asia, an English version edited by N. Elias, the translation by E. Denison Ross, London 1895.*¹

In the second half of the 17th century, Mirza Shah Mahmud, wrote in Persian a history of Kashgharia from the second half of the 15th century up to his own days, and used as his source for it the "Tarikh-i-Rashidi", but Shah Mahmud's work, unlike that by Haydar-Mirza is written in a very indifferent and often incorrect language.² All later works on the history Kashgharia were written in Turkish; one of such, the most recent one³ is accessible in a printed edition (without translation) and two other works (18th century) remain in Ms. but their contents have been described sufficiently in detail.⁴

Besides historical works in the proper sense of the word, as historical sources can also be considered, works, on the history of literature, i. e. collections of biographical data about poets with specimens of their work annexed, and works dealing with Muslim religious orders. Of both these categories, a considerable number of works⁵ are accessible in printed editions, European and Eastern, but hardly any of them have been translated into European languages. One of the rare exceptions an abridged translation of one of the earlier (11th century) works on the history of Muslim mysticism is the "Revelation of what is concealed" (Kashfu-l-Mahjub) by Jullabi,⁶ which was published in the Gibb Memorial Series (v. xvii, 1911).

In the present sketch not all the documents on Persian historical literature, which have passed through my hands and have been quoted in my earlier works have been enumerated. Still less could I have had

1 Reviewed by W. Barthold in the Zapisiski, X, 215-226. Regarding the author and his work see also Hist. of India, V, 127 ff.—Rieu, Pers. Man., 164 ff. ET., II, 232—

2 Zapisiski, XXII, 313-319. Photos from the corresponding Mss, are preserved in the Asiatic Museum of the Academy.

3 Tarikh-i-Amaniyah, edited by Pantusev, 1905; cf. my review in the Zapisiski, XVII, 0188-0195.

4 Zapisiski, XV, 236-254; XXII, 319. The Chinese or Eastern Turkestan by V. V. Grigoriev, II, 355 ff. Collections scientifiques etc., VIII, 156 ff., Mitt. des Seminars für Dr. Sprachen, VII, Westas. Stud., 18 ff; M. Hartmann. Der islamische Orient, I, Kft. 6—10, 1905.—

5 Information about it (besides the above mentioned E. G. Browne's Series, p. 72/Grundriss, II, 213 ff., 364 ff. Mitt. des Seminars etc., VII, Westas. Stud., 87 ff. Zapisiski, XV, 205 ff. 212; XIX, 0198 ff. XXIII, 252 ff. etc.

6 About him see besides Zapisiski, XVII, p. XXIII; XXV, 408.—

In view the enumeration of all the existing documents, in general. In the same way when compiling my sketch on Arabian historiography,¹ my sole object has been to compose a manual, where non-Orientalists and beginners could find the necessary information for their further independent studies.

European Investigation of the history of Iran and of the Iranian culture.

For European historians, Persia had necessarily always formed a subject of interest, if only on account of the importance, which the Graeco-Persian wars had in the history of the Ancient World. Under the influence of the traditions of the ancient culture, Byzantine and mediaeval European historians saw in the history of the Sasanian Empire, even in that of the Caliphate, and of the Muslim Iran, before all, the continuation of the history of Ancient Persia. Agathias² wrote in the 6th century that his contemporary king Khosrôw Anushirvan had surpassed in glory all the kings of Persia, even Cyrus. For the Frank annalists of the 9th century, Harun-al-Rashid was a "king of the Persians";³ in the 12th century they wrote about the defeat of Sultan Sanjâr (1141) as the defeat of the Samiâd brethren, kings of the Persians and Medians.⁴ For European travellers of the 15th century, Tabriz was Akbatana and Shiraz Persepolis.

Under such circumstances, in the age of the humanists, there was bound to appear a tendency to collect from the ancient literature information, regarding Ancient Persia, and to connect it with the scarce data available at their time about the later destinies of that country. Titles of several works written in the 17th century, which have now been long forgotten, are mentioned in the "Literary History of Persia"⁵ by Edw. G. Browne. He also points out the importance of the work by Thomas Hyde, published in London in 1700, on "The Religion of the Ancient Persians and Medians", in which certain views, which were later adopted by scholars, are foreshadowed, although Hyde had no notion whatever

1 The Muslim World (in Russian) 50-66; regarding the object in view see also p. 92.—

2 Agathias, IV, 29.—

3 The Christian East (in Russian) I, 76 ff.

4 Otto of Freisingen; "Persarum et Medorum reges fratres, Samiâdos dictos," The text is quoted by T. Zarneke, Der Priester Johannes, I, 21 from Man. Germ., hist. Script XX, 266.—

5 Lit. History of Persia, I, 42 ff.

either of the language of the Awesta or of Ancient Persian or of Middle Persian.

The impressions of the 17th century travellers of the Persia of their days were in general favourable.¹ Persia then was living through an epoch of external splendour, under the rule of the Safavid dynasty, that is why the Safavid capital ~~Isfahan~~ was called by d'Herbelot, "the biggest and the most magnificent city of Asia after those of China."² In Herbelot's dictionary, much space is given to materials borrowed from Persian historical works; even the war between Khosrow II (590-628) and the Emperor Heraclius is narrated from Khwanad-Amir's version,³ but he does not give any general outline of the history of the Persians. He knew that the creator of the new Shia Persia, Ismail, the founder of the Safavid dynasty, had laid firm foundations for the new monarchy."⁴

Of the events of the 18th century, only the victories of Nadir Shah (1736-1747) were able to provoke in Europeans a certain amount of interest in the Persia of their days.⁵ But one of the greatest events in the history of the study of Ancient Iran is connected with the 18th century—the first attempt of a European to learn the language of the holy scriptures of the Zoroastrians—the Awesta, and the first attempt to translate the Awesta into a European language. The young Anquetil du Perron (born in 1731 after having seen in 1754 a few folios of the Awesta from a manuscript in Oxford, made up his mind to go to India in order to get a key from the Indian Zoroastrians to the reading of the incomprehensible ancient text. The details of his romantic journey and his stay in India (1755-1761), where after many efforts he was fortunate enough to find three teachers, have been described from his words many times;⁶ ten years later, after his return to Europe, 1771, he was able to publish his translation, the "Zend Awesta," "ouvrage de Zoroaster."

Anquetil's work caused to appear a vast literature,⁷ first as regards the question of the authenticity of texts, which he brought with him, and

1 The literature of travels has been most detailedly examined by Ch. Schefer in his introduction to his edition of Raphaël du Mans' work "État de la Perse en 1650, Paris, 1890.

2 Bibliothèque Orientale, S. V. Esfahan.—

3 Ibid. S. V. Khasrau.—

4 Ibid, S. V. Ismail.—

5 The titles of European works of the 18th c. on Nādir Shāh are quoted in the Grundriss Vol. II, 592.—

6 E. G. Browne, Lit. Hist. of Persia, I, 46 ff.

7 About it see Browne op. cit. 45-59.

then as to the degree of reliability of the traditional explanation of these texts, which Anquetil had learned from his Indian teachers. The first question has been solved long ago, in the affirmative; the second remains disputable up to the present day. Anquetil who did not possess any philological training, could not have proposed that question. The origination of the question is closely connected with the establishment of the relation between the language of the Avesta and Sanskrit and with the progress in European Sanskrit studies. E. Burnouf was the first to apply in his work, which appeared in 1833, the methods of European philological criticism to the edition and explanation of the Avesta. Much earlier from the very first years of the 19th century, as mentioned by Burnouf, attempts had been made by German scholars, who availed themselves solely of Anquetil's translations, "to produce the image of the Ancient-Persian civilisation"¹. Notwithstanding the absence of a critical edition and the insufficient knowledge of the language possessed by Anquetil, his translation, according to the opinion of one of our modern scholars, correctly transmitted the general spirit and ideas of the Avesta. His notes and the information given by him with regard to the Zoroastrian ritual, based on a proximate and conscientious observation of Zoroastrian oral traditions and his personal contact with them, remain instructive up to the present day and are superior by their completeness to the information given by later investigations².

From the second half of the 19th century onwards begin the attempts to produce a critical edition and a translation of the complete text of the Avesta in the shape in which it has reached us. At the same time research work was carried on in connection with the questions started both by Burnouf regarding the Pahlavi commentaries on and the Sanskrit translations of the Avesta, and the data contained in the Pahlavi literature, with regard to the Avesta and to Zoroaster. It has been established that only a small part of the text, which existed at the time of the Sasanids, and was divided into 2 books, has come down to us³. As early as in the 9th century, one of these books (the 2nd) was already considered to be irretrievably lost; moreover, of the fifth book, only the text existed at that time without its Pahlavi commentary. Only one book the 19th (Vandidad) has reached us in its integrity. All the rest are merely fragments from different books. Religious hymns—the so-called Gathas—stand apart as regards their language, being, probably, a separate and the most ancient part of the Avesta.

1 E. Burnouf, *Commentaire sur le Yazna*, p. II.—

2 Grundriss, II, 41.—

3 For the contents see the Grundriss, II, 18.—

In spite of the fact that the nature of the contents of the Awesta, was thus fully established, attempts were still made to consider the holy scriptures of the Zoroastrian, as one whole, as a document of a definite epoch, and as belonging to definite historical surroundings. Such are the contents of the book by *Wilhelm Geiger*: "*Ostiranische Kultur im Altertum*, (Erlangen, 1882). The object of that book is to give the characteristics of the culture of the "Awesta people" ("*des Avaste-Volkes*"), and it is assumed that the Awesta was composed in its entirety in the Eastern part of Iran, during the pre-Achemenian period. The time, during which the Awesta was being composed, was of considerable duration. The people in the course of that period were migrating from one part of the country to another, and passing through different stages in their cultural development. The upper parts of the Syr-Darya and the Amu-Darya and the valley of the Zarafshan, situated between these two rivers, were the original mother-country of the people of the Awesta who first descended from the basin of the Syr-Darya into the basin of the Zarafshan and thence on to the basin of the Amu-Darya. To the south of the Amu-Darya, along the Northern declivities of the Hindu-Kush the people found its second mother-country; thence they proceeded partly towards the South, partly to the West; a third epoch in the migrations of the Iranian people is determined by that division into two branches. The spread of Zoroastrianism was connected with transition from the nomadic state to settled life, in consequence of which the religious strife was followed by an economical struggle. The Gathas are an echo of that epoch of fierce religious and economical wars during which the element of nationality receded altogether into the background. That is why the very word "Aryans" is not encountered in the Gathas¹. As Geiger puts it, the Gathas were the only one part of the Awesta, which drew its material entirely from the surrounding conditions². Nevertheless, other texts are taken by him into account in order to explain the life of the "people of the Awesta". All the texts were composed in Eastern-Iranian districts, but their authors—missionaries of the new creed,—came from the West from Media.

This last conjecture is not based on the sacred texts themselves but on the tradition, which is firmly established amongst the Persians, i.e. the Zoroastrians of our days. In the same way, as in Sanskritology, so also in the domain of the Ancient Iranian religion, the question of the degree of credit that may be accorded to the native learned tradition³

1 Ostir, Kulture 169 —

2 Ibid. 177: "Ich. beginne Mit dem. Gathas, dem einzigen Teil des Awesta, der so recht eigentlich aus der Gegenwart schöpft und die gegenwärtigen Verhältnisse schildert."

3 For the names of the scholars representing the different points of view see *Grundriss*, II, 43,--

has provoked embittered discussions. The question cannot be considered to have been entirely solved even up to the present day. Even the chronological system of the Parsis, with the exact fixing of the time of Zoroaster's life, in spite of its well-known recent origin and its distinct fictitiousness, enjoys an unmerited amount of credit. It is taken into consideration equally by all the three collaborators of the "*Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*" who had to deal with that question—the authors of the articles on the literature of the Awesta, on the history of the pre-Islamic Iran, and on the Iranian religion¹.

At the same time as the question about the religious tradition of the Parsis, there arose amongst European scholars, in the second half of the 18th century, the question regarding the value of the Persian historical tradition, to what degree can the Persian traditions, concerning the dynasties of the pre-Alexandrian period, be regarded as a means to supplement the information of ancient authors. Attempts to identify the heroes of the epic with historical kings—Assyrian, Median and Persian were still made in the 18th century, by Sir William Jones, (1746–1794)² and have since been repeated many times, in the books of Malcolm, which was the first attempt of a European scholar, relying on Persian sources to narrate the history of Persia from the most ancient times down to the present day. The part of it, dealing with Ancient Iran, is permeated by the same tendency. Malcolm's³ work has, at present, of course, become obsolete. Suffice it to say, that he had no means to avail himself of Achemenian inscriptions, while dealing with the history of Persia. When compiling the history of the Muslim period, he makes no difference between compilations and original sources—most frequently, he quotes only titles of works, without mentioning either the names of their authors, or the time of their composition.

The history of deciphering of the Ancient Persian inscriptions, beginning with the first successful attempt, made by Grotefend (1802) has been narrated many times⁴. The chief merit belongs to Henry Rawlinson who discovered (in 1836) and deciphered the Behistun inscription. Afterwards, all historians when writing about Ancient Persia, were able to

1 Ibid., II, 37, 410 and 622. The words of Edw. Meyer (Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums II, 71 note 1) regarding the Unhegreiflichkeiten, die sich auf diesem Gebiet besonders stark und verhängnisvoll geltend gemacht haben" fully well express the state of things with regard to that question.—

2 For it see E. G. Browne, Lit. Hist., I, 55.—

3 Sir J. Malcolm, History of Persia, 1815; cf. for instance the approximation of Kâg-Qubâd and Deiokes I, 215 and 217.—

4 Grundriss, II, 66–71, Lit. Hist., I, 59–64; in Russian: B. Turaev, History of the ancient East", I, 34 ff; V. P. Buzeskul "New discoveries of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th c. in the domain of the history of the ancient world, 1923, I, 115–119.—

utilise the Achemenian inscriptions, although certain wrong readings resulted sometimes in wrong historical deductions. Thus, there existed at a time the opinion, which had, later to be rejected, that the Avesta¹ was mentioned in the inscription of Darius. The history of Ancient Persia has been mostly investigated in connection with the history of other countries of the Ancient East. The progress of research in the domain of the history of Ancient Persia is closely connected with the progress of historical studies, relative to the Ancient East in general, if not in the matter of new discoveries (in this respect, if I am not mistaken, nothing of any importance has been done, since the discovery in 1855 of the Achemenian palace in Suza² by Mr. Dieulafoy, and his wife) still as far as the explanation of material is concerned. Edw. Meyer's work "Geschichtes des Altertums" the first edition of which appeared in 1884, as B. A. Turaev³ puts it, "makes an epoch in the history of research." The Achemenian state is dealt with in that work in a most brilliant and, it would seem, scientifically substantiated way.

Attempts have also been made to approach the history of Ancient Persia from the other side, and to consider it as a part of the history of the East in general, and of the Iranian world, in particular. Amongst such attempts, those by Noeldeke are the most interesting. He published in 1885 an article⁴ regarding the fifth volume of the "Roman History" by Mommsen, which deals with the Roman supremacy and the Roman policy in the East. Noeldeke calls himself in that article a "dilettante in Ancient History" and treats the historical questions contained therein from the point of view of an orientalist, for whom there is no essential difference in the life of the same Oriental peoples at different epochs. In the same strain are also written his articles in the "Encyclopedia Britannica", the German original of which was published by him separately in 1887⁵. These articles are devoted, (1) to the Median and Achemenian states, (2) to the state of the Sasanids (3) the city of Persepolis. In the preface, the author mentions his lack of partiality for Eastern peoples and his sympathy with the Greeks, which increased more and more as he went

1 B. A. Turaev, History of the Ancient East, 2 II, 20. For the former opinion see, for instance Justi, Geschichte der Orientalischen Völker im Altertum (1884), 396.

2 About other excavations at Suza see the abovementioned Dieulafoy and in general all literature previous to 1893. Grundriss, II, 457.

3 History of the Ancient East, 2 I, 52.

4 ZDMG, XXXIX, 331-351.

5 Aufsätze Zur persischen Geschichte,

on studying the East¹. Still more characteristic is that Edw. Meyer, a specialist in the history of the Ancient World in his review of Noeldeke's² work accuses that Orientalist of seeing too much shade on the Persian side and too much light on the side of the Greeks. More well-grounded are Edw. Meyer's objections against the characterisation of Cyrus, as a "savage conqueror",³ since Cyrus did not really destroy any of the cities conquered by him, not even the rebellious Sardes. Edw. Meyer is less right, perhaps, when he tries to explain the campaign of Darius against the Scythians by some important political considerations, in which Noeldeke sees only the usual craving for conquests in unknown countries⁴. According to Edw. Meyer's opinion, that campaign was undertaken by Darius with the object of making a rear-attack on the Turanian nomads, who were devastating his territory. The campaign was not successful because it was undertaken, "with insufficient geographical knowledge." "However, this may be, there are no sufficient proofs that Darius and his advisers had any knowledge whatever of the existence of a route to the North of the Black and the Caspian Seas into the Turanian steppes⁵.

Special mention deserve the works of the traveller and diplomat Count Arthur de Gobineau. Along with his attempts, to compare present day Persia with Ancient Iran, in the works inspired by his travels⁶, to his pen belongs also a work on the history of Persia⁷, which is brought up only to the beginning of the Sasanian dynasty (in the 3rd century, A. D.) In Gobineau's opinion, that event is connected with the triumph in Iran of the "inferior" Semitic culture. The unscientific racial theory adopted in Gobineau's book constitutes its chief defect. On the other hand, the attitude of the Iranians with regard to the Assyro-

1 Aufsätze, VI, "Mich haben eben meine orientalischen Studien immer mehr zum Griechenfreunde gemacht."

2 ZDMG, 43 (1889), 557-594.—

3 "Wilder Eroberer" Aufsätze, 20).--

4 Aufsätze, 34 ff.

5 Recently the opinion of Edw. Meyer was repeated with some exaggerations by M. T. Rostavzev (Hellenism and Iranism in the South of Russia, 1518 p. 41) who ascribed to Darius the intention "to cross with two armies the Black Sea coast from East to West and to return, if successful, across the Caucasus." No source contains, unless I am very much mistaken, any allusion to such an intention on the part of Darius.

6 Trois ans en Asie, 1859 (2nd edition, 1905). Les Religions et les Philosophies dans l'Asie Centrale 1865 (3rd edition, 1900). Especially unsuccessful in the last work is the attempt to prove the existence of a close relationship between Shit'ism and Parsyism.—

7 Histoire des Perses, 1869.—

Babylonian culture is quite adequately compared by him to the attitude of Germans, with regard to Roman culture.

Along with the work of Malcolm is sometimes¹ quoted the work by C. Markham², which appeared more than half a century later, "A General sketch of the History of Persia" (in one large volume.) This work is, however different from that of Malcolm, if only for the reason that its author was not an orientalist, and depended only on such Oriental works, as have been translated into European languages, and on works by European travellers. Under such circumstances there could not have been any question either of his dealing critically with the sources or referring to original works. Mir Khwand is in the author's opinion the best historian for the period from the Arab conquest up to the accession of the Safavids.

Although of no independent importance, still a useful compilation is the sketch by Louis Dubeux (the first translator of the "Persian Tabari"), *La Perse*, which was published in the series, "*L'univer ou histor et de description de tous les peuples, de leurs religions moeurs industries, costumes, etc.*" (1841) published for the second time, without any alterations, in 1881. In its geographical part, special attention was given to the monuments of ancient times. The description of the monuments of Behistun and Persepolis is given from Ker Porter (1817-1820.) From there also are borrowed the illustrations in Dubeux's book. The history of Persia, including that of Alexander, is narrated both according to Greek and Persian sources, but treated separately. The author proceeds in the same way, when narrating the history of the Arsacids, and even that of the Sasanids, although in the last case, it was quite possible to blend all the information available from whatever sources, into one comprehensive chapter. Persian information about the Sasanids is narrated from Mir Khwanad, from the translation by *Silvestre de Sacy* (1793.) The author thought that to choose any historian but the one to whom the great savant had given preference, "*serait afficher une pretention aussi ridicule qu'elle est eloignee de nos sentiments de reconnaissance et d'admiration.*" The sketch of the history of Muslim Persia is brought up to the death of Fath—Ali Shah (1834). The characterisation of the rulers up to Agha Muhammad (murdered in 1797) is given chiefly from Malcolm's work. The illustrations representing buildings and archaeological monuments, portraits and drawings of an ethnographical character, borrowed from the works of early travellers, are not without a certain interest.

1 See, for instance, Browne, Lit. Hist., I, 212.—

2 C Markham, A general sketch of the History of Persia, 1874.—

The best work on the history of Iran from Alexander the Great up to the accession of the Sasanids, probably, remains up to our days a small book (172 pages) *Alfred von Gutschmid, Geschichte Irans und seiner Nachbarländer von Alexander dem Grossen bis zum Untergang der Arsaciden, 1888.*

At the time of the publication of the "Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie", in the last years of the 19th century, and the first years of the 20th century, the compilation of the sketch on the history of pre-Islamic Iran was entrusted to Ferd. Justi (1837-1907), who had written before a sketch on the history of ancient Persia for the Onken¹ series (1879) and a sketch of the history of the Ancient East for another more popular series "*Allgemeine Weltgeschichte* (1884). The interpretation of events in Justi's sketch is far from being perfect, but, one may take it that all the actual material available for research, has been included in Justi's sketch as regards both the information derived from written sources, as materials of an archæological and ethnological character.

During the 20th century, practically no new material for the history of pre-Islamic Persia has been added, so that the "Grundriss" still serves in that respect its purpose, up to the present time. When Edw. Meyer published, without alterations, eleven years after the first, a second edition of the corresponding volume of his work², of all the new material, which he ought to have taken into consideration, he mentioned merely the Armaic papyri, discovered in 1907, on the Elephantine island in Egypt and a passage from the "Hellenika" by Theopompus (4th century, B. C.) also discovered in Egypt. To the papyri of Elephantine Edw. Meyer devoted in 1912 a separate work³, from which it can be seen that the discovery was of a greater importance as regards the history of the Hebrews than the history of the Persian monarchy. In the latter respect, the Armaic translation of the Behistun inscription is of the greatest interest as confirming and completing the words of the inscription about copies of it, having been sent to provinces.

1 *Allgemeine Geschichte in Einzeldarstellungen.*

2 *Geschichte des Alterthums, III, Teil I.—*

3 *Der Papyrusfund von Elephantine, ibid the bibliography of the subject.*

Besides the material mentioned by Edw. Meyer¹ some interest is also offered by an astrological text published in 1908, which has come down to us in a work, by a Greek author (Tewkros of Babylon) who wrote most probably, not later than the 1st century A. D. The original belonged obviously to an Egyptian of the Persian epoch. The text has been published and commented on by F. Cument². It can be seen from it that for an Egyptian author, Italy was the furthestmost limit of his geographical horizon.

As monuments of the Arsacid epoch, two Greek documents of the 1st century B. C. are of some interest which were discovered in 1909, in Persian Kurdistan, near the Turkish frontier. These documents refer to the sale of portions of land and are interesting documentary evidence of the supremacy of Greek culture under the Arsacids. Together with these Greek deeds a document was found, written in Aramaic characters, which as far as I know, has not been wholly deciphered up to this time³.

Although the number of sources to be studied has, thus, practically not increased, since the publication of the "Grundriss", nevertheless, a more careful study of former sources has contributed to establish many new facts, of great scientific importance; such as the establishment of the fact that the sculptures, on the tomb of Darius, near Persepolis are meant to impersonate in their national garments representatives of the chief nations, which composed the Achaemenian monarchy, and that it is possible to establish definitely from the inscriptions, what nationally each image is supposed to represent. This "peculiar and valuable ethnological museum,"⁴ remains unmentioned in Justi's sketch.

1 I understand from S. A. Zhebelev that Edw. Meyer calls "a fragment from the Hellenika of Theopompus" an anonymous historical manuscript, the author of which is also known, from the place where the manuscript was found (1906) as the "Anonymous of Oxyrhynch" (which is a city in Upper Egypt). Against the belonging of this fragment to Theopompus speaks also, according to S. A. Zhebelev, the characteristic of Theopompus by his contemporaries as a brilliant stylist, which cannot be noticed from the Oxyrhynch manuscript. The same fragments were ascribed by other scholars to Kratippos, then the opinion was omitted that they might belong to Ephorus; with regard to the later see S. A. Zhebelev *Ancient Greece*, I, 27 ff. About the Oxyrhynch anonymous see *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia cum Theopompi et Cratippi fragmentis*, recogn. B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, 1909 (Scriptorum class. Bibliotheca Oxoniensis); *Egypt Exploration Fund Graeco-Roman Branch. The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* part XIII, 1919.—

2 *Klio*, IX (1909), 268-273.—

3 E. H. Minns, *Parchments of the Parthian Period from Aorvman in Kurdistan* (from *Hellenic Studies* XXXV, 1915.—

4 In the words of F. H. Weissbach (*Die Keilinschriften am Grabe des Darius Hystaspis*, 4): *eigenartiges und wertvolles ethnologisches Museum*.

Attempts¹ have also been made to give a more complete and comprehensive estimate of the Sassanian monarchy than it was possible for Justi, whose sketch was based on Noeldeke's work, published in 1879. A small work by A. Christensen (1907) "*L'empire des Sassanides, Le Peuple, l'état, la cour*" represents such an attempt; in the second edition² of the well-known *Einleitung in die altertums-wissenschaft* (A. Gercke u E. Norden, 1914)³. Christensen's book is recommended as the best introduction to the study of the Sassanian epoch, the foundation for which was laid by Noeldeke. These words belong to E. Kornemann, the compiler of a sketch of the history of the Roman empire, comprising a chapter entitled "Neurom and Neupersien"⁴. The subject treated in that chapter is wider than one would conclude from its title. The strife between the new Rome and the new Persia is examined as a part of that struggle between (western) Asia, and Europe, which already Herodotus made the fundamental subject of his work. Several times the term "Iranism" is used, which was introduced by F. Cumont (the investigator of Eastern religions and of the cult of Mithra in particular) in opposition to the term, "Hellenism" created by Droyzen⁵. "Iranism" progresses according as "Hellenism" falls into decay, "in the storms of the terrible 3rd century" (A. D.) Against Noeldeke's opinion, the influence of the new Persia upon the new Rome was stronger than the reverse current. The fusion of Hellenism with Iranism, aimed at prematurely by Alexander, took place in the epoch of the Caliphate, but at that moment Iranism was predominant? A solid basis for further investigations in that domain will have been created, when the task undertaken by Fr. Sarre and his collaborators—the detailed study of all Persian buildings⁶—has been accomplished.

1 An attempt to use for ethnographical purposes the shapes of different nationalities was made as early as 1866 by Khanikov in his "Mémoire sur l'ethnographie de la Perse" (for it see below), where (p. 68) one finds even the expression "véritable galerie ethnographique."

2 About it see S. A. Zhebelev, Ancient Rome, part II. The Imperial period (1923), 121. —

3 Einleitung, etc., III 2, 301; das zur Einführung empfohlen werden kann.

4 Einleitung, etc., III 2, 298–306.

5 About his History of Hellenism" see S. A. Zhebelev, "Ancient Greece", part II, Hellenism (1922). 101 ff.

6 Einleitung etc., III 1, 303, "Die Aufnahme aller persischen Bauten."

E. Kornemann did not pay any attention to another obstacle, to a strictly scientific study of the questions, mentioned by him—the most insufficient achievements in the domain of the study of the documents of Muslim Iran, as compared with the study of the pre-Islamic period. That must have become obvious, even for a non-orientalist, after the publication of the “Grundriss”, where 155 pages are devoted to the history of the pre-Islamic Iran, and only 54 pages to the history of the Muslim period, although in the latter case, far more plentiful materials are available as sources. Paul Horn (1898-1908), the author of a sketch (compiled in 1898) on the history of Muslim Iran is right, when he says that to compile a detailed history of Persia, which could have taken the place of Malcolm’s work is quite impossible at present, as the necessary preparatory investigations have not yet been made and many important sources still remain unpublished. Therefore, the author confined himself to the compilation of a brief sketch trying only to give some idea about the general course of events and without entering into details. The sketch, however, written in such a superficial manner, that it is in many ways inferior to the corresponding chapters and borrowed mostly from catalogues of European libraries, may be useful, but that information is not always complete (suffice it to say that only the obsolete French translation of the history of Timur by Sharaf-ud-din is mentioned there and nothing is said about the Calcutta edition of the original). The errors, occurring in the catalogues are not rectified, new mistakes are made—thus it is said about one of the anonymous works on the history of Timur that it is compiled for “Timur”, although the history of Timur is brought there up to the time of his death and was written about eight years after that event¹.

Without a detailed study of the written documents, it is hardly possible to accomplish the task suggested by E. Kornemann—a scientific description of architectural monuments. In the absence of written information, contemporary with the monuments studied, the investigator avails himself most naturally of his own observations of the present day life for

¹ Grundriss, II, 579.—

the explanation of monuments of the past. It has been possible to apply this method of investigation in Persia, even for the study of the Achemenian monuments, owing to the existence even in our days of communities, not very numerous it is true, of partisans of the Zoroastrian religion. E. Flandin, one of the two authors of a work, in which before the invention of photography, the representations of the Persepolis monuments were given, describes¹ the scene of two Persians performing their religious rites by the side of the tombs of Persepolis, witnessed by him, the performance proved to be exactly similar to the one depicted on the upper part of the frontispiece of the tomb.

The same method has been applied, not always successfully, when studying questions of material culture. E. Herzfeld, the chief collaborator of F. Sarre, considers the famous "Kaba of Zoroaster" to be a tomb of a type, which according to him, developed in connection with the type of living houses seen by him. F. Sarre, however, pronounced himself definitely against this opinion and considered with Justi and Jackson, the "Kaba of Zoroaster" to be a fire-temple². Nevertheless, Herzfeld kept to his own theory and repeated it in his article published in 1921³. The rather numerous errors occurring in that article and already discussed by me elsewhere⁴, can be explained to a great extent by the author's insufficient acquaintance with written sources. The same applies, in a still greater degree, to the works of Ernest Diez⁵. With a different state of research, both with regard to greater accessibility of written information and to greater fulness of information about architectural monuments. F. Sarre's great work⁶ which embraces the monuments of "Persian" architecture in the wider sense of the word, i. e. in the author's idea from Qonya to Samarcand, would have received a somewhat different aspect. In reality, the domain of "Persian culture art, especially in the sphere of the architectural extended much further to the East. In Persian style for instance, is built a mosque to the North-East of Kulja⁷, and even a mosque near the ruins of Khara-

1 E. Flandin et P. Coste, *Voyage en Perse pendant 1840-1* (1843-54), II, 203; is quoted by Y. Ménéant, *Les Achéménides et les inscriptions de la Perse*, (1872) 90, where mistakenly I, 230.—

2 F. Sarre und E. Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, 4.—

3 *Der Islam*, XI, 133.—

4 *Proceedings of the Russian Academy of the history of material culture*, II, 371 ff.—

5 *Die kunst der islamischen Völker*, 1915; *Churasanische Baudenkmäler*, 1918.—

6 *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst*, 1910.—

7 *The Kauffmann Memorial volume*, 1910, 161-170 (article by N. N. Pantusov).—

Khoto, investigated by P. K. Kazlov's¹ expedition in 1908 and 1909. Max van Berchem touched upon many important questions regarding the history of Persian architecture, in his review² on F. Sarre's work, but many of his opinions are given as hypotheses owing to the deficiency of the available material. Besides, the necessity of an early and prompt investigation of the buildings themselves, which rapidly falling into decay for want of proper supervision, he points out still another task: "*il faudrait depouiller avec soin les sources orientales.*"³

The unfinished "Literary History of Persia"⁴ by E. G. Browne may be considered, more or less, as a work on the history of Iran, not only cultural but also political. The author included in his sketch everything, which had been written by Persians in Persian and excluded all that had been written in Persian by non-Persians (for instance by Indians). Proceeding from Persian literature as such, the author intended to compile a history not of the dynasties of Persia, but of the Persian people itself. The dimensions of the work, the distribution of the material, the division into periods, the characteristic lines of every period—all this was, determined by him only during the very process of work. He proposed originally to give a full outline of the history of Persian literature in one volume, then he decided to bring the first volume up to the Mongol invasion. The first volume, which was published, was, however, only brought up to the beginning of the 11th century, and therefore, according to the remark of the author himself, it contains merely the Prolegomena "to the history of Persian literature. The second volume was, therefore, to be devoted to the history of literature proper. In reality, however, the second volume was only brought up to the middle of the 13th century. To that period, in spite of its comparative shortness, belong the greater part of the most illustrious poets and authors of Persia, and consequently, it was necessary to give a more detailed account of the authors of that period. The author meant to relate the history of the remaining six and a half centuries, in another volume of the same size. When, however, that third volume appeared (14 years after the second under another title,⁵ and in another edition) it proved to cover, like the second

1 The picture of the mosque has been published several times, see, for instance, S.F. Oldenburg, Materials for Buddhist eikonography of Kharakhoto. 1914. 5.

2 Journal des Savants, féar. 1911, 54-69.—

3 Ibid. 3, note 3.

4 A literary History of Persia. The first two volumes (1. From the earliest times until Firdawsī, 1902. 2. From Firdawsī to Sa'di, 1906) found place in the series "The Library of Literary History."

5 A History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion, Cambridge, 1920.—

volume, only the history of two and a half centuries. The author expressed the hope to be able to devote to the last four centuries a separate volume under the title, "A history of Persian literature in *Modern Times*."¹ His attempt to prove that the first centuries of Islam were in the history of Persia in many respects, the most interesting and also the most fruitful in the domain of intellectual culture, is in his own words, an abandonment of his former views.² The attitude of the author towards the question of the importance of the Mongol invasion in the history of Persia is less clear and more influenced by traditional opinions. The first two volumes³ are entirely permeated by the view that that event was a catastrophe, not only for the political but also for the cultural life of Iran. This is also the leading idea, in general, in the third volume, but with considerable restrictions. The author recognises that, in spite of the devastations caused by the Mongols, the period of Mongol Rule was remarkably rich in literary achievements.⁴ In a memorial volume, consecrated to E. G. Browne, E. Herzfeld, quotes this view in order to confirm his own opinion, that the annexation of Hither Asia to the rest of the Asian continent caused in many regions a great revival of culture (*einen hohen aufschwung*).⁵ As regards the architecture, to which Herzfeld's words refer in the first instance, Gobineau made the same observation⁶ although it is difficult to agree with his explanation of this fact, which he attributes before all to the influence of the Mongols themselves, or, at least of their rulers. Of greater importance, however, was the factor, to which Th. Lindner⁷ ascribes the whole of the advantages brought to the West, by the Mongol invasion, i. e. the widening of geographical learning, and, as a result of it, a widening of the general outlook. Th. Lindner merely mentions, that one must fully appreciate this factor but pays much more attention to the devastations, made by the Mongols. For the cultural development of a nation, however, the intercourse with other peoples has, probably, the greatest importance, and the "sole advantage" brought to Persia by the Mongol invasion atones to a considerable

1 On the subject of the later Modern Persian literature a special work was published in 1914 by E. G. Browne, "Press and Poetry of Modern Persia." Up to quite recent times has been brought the small book by R. Levy Persian Literature Oxf. 1923) compiled chiefly from Browne; see the review by F. Rosen in OLZ, 26 (1923), 509-511.—

2 I, 212.—

3 Cf. especially I, 210 ff.; II, 426 ff.

4 History of Pers., Lit., 17.—

5 A volume of orient. studies etc., 198.—

6 Trois ans en Asie, 157.—

7 Th. Lindner Weltgeschichte, II, 98. About that [work see the Muslim World (in Russian) 86 ff.—

extent for all the damage caused by the Mongols to the country which suffered much more during the destruction, of the Mongolian empire than during its formation.

Separate instances of inaccuracies and omissions in the book by E. G. Browne, with regard to Persian historical literature have been already mentioned above. It contains besides, other mistakes and oversights. (Nevertheless, the scientific importance of this work, both as regards the amount of its material and the leading views, expounded therein, is very great.) The author is quite aware of the limitations of his book, but considers it as its chief object to prepare the ground for a more perfect work in the future. The book fully answers this purpose, and it is not the fault of its author if the progress of research especially in his own country has been advancing slower than one would expect. The information given in the first volume of E. G. Browne's work in 1902, dealing with the beginning of Persian literature, both poetry and prose, were repeated by other scholars twenty years later without any additions.¹

The attempt made in 1915, just a hundred years after the appearance of the work by Malcolm, to substitute for this obsolete work, a book, which could answer the present day demands² shows how very little progress has been achieved in the matter of research. The numerous blunders made by its author give evidence of his being wholly unequal to the task, which he undertook and have been pointed out by me in my review of that work³ in two volumes.

In the "Encyclopaedia of Islam"⁴ under the word "Iran" (the corresponding fascicle was published in 1921) the word "Persian" (Perse, Persia) is only referred to; the "Encyclopaedia" will not be brought as far as the letter "P" so very soon. The articles under the headings "Afghanistan" and "Balochistan" have been compiled by the same scholar (M. Longworth Dames) to whom also belong the greater part of the articles on the

1 Cf. my article in the Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, II, 836.—

2 P. M. Sykes, A History of Persia.—

3 Proceedings of the Russian Geographical Society, LIII (1917), 182-186. The review was printed without my reading the proofs and is disfigured by numerous misprints.

4 Cf. The Muslim World (in Russian), 8c.—

East Iranian cities, and dynasties bibliographical data, annexed to these articles, especially in the part dealing with history and historical geography clearly show how little has been done in that domain of research. Thus, in the article on Ghazna (1914) the author, when mentioning the tomb of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna only quotes the description by Vigne, who was in Ghazna in 1836. The inscription on the door of the tomb was published only in 1918,¹ from photographs and estampages.²

Still more insufficiently developed in Europe up till now is the study of the history of that part of the Iranian (if not by language, by its character and the origin of its culture) world which does not enter into the composition of political and geographical Iran, i.e. chiefly the history of Turkestan. In 1914, an article was published by me in the *Journal "Die Geisteswissenschaften"*³ dealing with the contemporary state and the most important problems of Western European research in that domain. The history of Turkestan has been seldom examined by European scholars in connection with the history of Iran (an exception—the above mentioned book by F. Sarre on the history of architecture). It has been examined more frequently in connection with the history of the Central Asian nomads, according to the character of the sources. Sinologists appeared in that domain as continuators of works by Islamists, and vice versa. The work by C. D' Ohsson (1834)⁴ on the history of the Mongolian empire remains the best up to these days, although it chiefly deals with the Mongolian states in China and Persia, and practically no information is given as regards either the mediaeval Mongolian state or the Golden Horde. Recently, an investigation of the Chinese sources on the history of the Mongols has been undertaken by the French sinologist F. Pelliot.⁵ It is also by him, partly

1 Der Islam, VIII, 214-227 (article by S. Flury).—

2 The article by Fr. Rosen "Der Einfluss Geistiger Strömungen auf die politische Geschichte Persiens" (ZDMG, LXXVI, 101-125), published in 1922, has no great scientific importance. For the newest political history of Persia one could quote besides the book by Browne' The Persian Revolution of 1905-1909; Cambridge, 1910.—

3 Stand und Aufgaben der Geschichtsforschung in Turkestan (Die Geisteswiss., 1075-1080) —

4 C. d'Ohsson Historie des Mongols, depuis Tchinguiz-Khan jusqu'à Timour Bey on Tamerlan The first edition of the first volume was published as far back as 1834. Regarding that work and the relation of later works to the same see my "Turkistan," II, 60 ff.

5 See especially his articles in the JA, II, XV (1920), 130 ff.

in collaboration with the late E. Chavannes that the question of the recent archaeological discoveries in Central Asia has been examined with regard to Iranian cultural influence on China.¹ How little interest there has been displayed in Western Europe with regard to the modern history of Turkestan can be seen from the fact that the problems proposed by the German scholar F. Teufel,² not long before his death (1844) remain still unsolved up to the present day.

V.

Russian Investigations.

A prominent place belongs in the history of Oriental research in Russia to the study of the languages and the literature of Iran, in the domain of history. A far lesser number of works by Russian Orientalists can be found. The words uttered in 1858 by occupant of the chair of Persian literature at the University of St. Petersburg at that time, Prof. Kazem-Bek, that the history of the East "has practically not at all been investigated by Russian scholars"³ remain to a considerable extent true even in our days. Even Malcolm's book has not been fully translated into Russian. In 1835, there appeared a translation dealing merely with its final part (about the reign of Agha-Muhammad and the events which came after it.)⁴

Even the opening of a special course on the history of the East as a separate subject at the University assisted the progress of research work in that domain in a lesser degree, than might have been expected.

The creation of a chair of history of the East at the University of St. Petersburg was planned as early as 1829 and 1832, but these plans materialised only in the "Regulations of 1863". The creation of that chair had chiefly in view the demands of the linguistic courses, and hence the division of the historical chair according to linguistic groups, into the history of Semitic peoples, the history of Northern Eastern Asia and the history of Aryan peoples of Asia. This division proved to be still-born and had almost no influence either on the development of research work or

1 v. supra not 4, p. 12 —

2 ZDMG, XXXVIII, 235 ff.

3 Materials for the history of the Faculty of Oriental Languages, I, 337.—

4 "Syn Otechestva" and "Severnoy Archiv" v. XLIX (1835), 271-290, 332-348, 383-404.—

even on the programmes of the University courses, although it entered the "Regulations of 1864" as regards examinations for degrees and was in force up to the first years of the 20th century.

Before that, courses on the history of the East were delivered for several years (1835-1843) at the School of Oriental Languages of the Ministry of Foreign affairs by B. A. Dorn (academician since 1839) who later devoted himself especially to the study of the history of the Caspian districts. Besides, the already mentioned editions and translations, Dorn devoted to the history of that part of Iran several works of research, amongst others, articles on the Shirvan-shahs,¹ and on the rulers, and Khans of Shirvan,² which have not become quite obsolete even in our days. Only a part of the first article (up to the 14th century) may be considered as having lost its value after the appearance of the more recent work by E. A. Pakhomov,³ who although not using for his work any new written sources, had at his disposal some new numismatic material. The essay "Caspia"⁴ in Russian-Kaspiy,⁵ chiefly devoted to the invasions (in the 10th century) of Russians into the Caspian districts belongs also to the pen of Dorn. In his steps in the domain of the Caspian districts and their history followed his disciple G. V. Melgunov who accompanied him in 1860 in his journey to the Caspian districts; Melgunov's Book "On the Southern shore of the Caspian Sea" appeared in Russian in 1863⁶ in German (with additions) in 1868.⁷ From 1868, up to his death (1873) Melgunov occupied the post of lecturer on the history of Aryan peoples at the University of St. Petersburg, but after his death, this chair was no more filled.

Before the creation of the chair of the history of the East in the Faculty of Oriental Languages, courses in the history of Persia were delivered first by Prof. A. K. Kazem-Bek (1855-58) then by the lecturer by L. Z. Budaghov (1858-63).⁸ An idea of what the

1 Versuch einer Geschichte der Schirwanschahs Mém. de l'Acad. etc, sciences politiques etc, 6me série, t. IV, livre 6, 1841). —

2 Geschichte Shirwans unter den Statthaltern und Chänen von 1538-1610; vorzüglich nach persischen Quellen (ibid, t. V, livr 3 and 4). —

3 A brief course of the history of Azarbayjan with a supplementary excursus on the history of the Shirvanshahs 11-14 cc, Baku, 1923 (for private circulation only). —

4 Mém. etc, 7me série, t. X—XIII, No. 1, 1875.

5 Proceedings of the Academy of Sciences, v. XXVI, Supplement N 1. (1875):

6 Ibid., v. III supplement No. 5.

7 Das südliche Ufer des Kaspischen Meeres. Lpz. 1868. —

8 Materials for the history of the Faculty, I, 335 ff. —

lectures delivered by Budaghov were like can be derived from the examination programme of 1859.¹ Prof. V. Grigoriev, who occupied the chair of the history of the East from 1863 to 1878, gave besides an introductory course, only a course on the history of Central Asia; in 1878, the lectures on the history of Persia were resumed and K. P. Patkanov professor of Armenian literature was charged with them, who had occupied himself before with the history of Iran, especially from Armenian sources. To his pen belongs the work "An essay on the history of the Sasanian Dynasty", according to the information given by Armenian authors (1863). It appeared in 1866, in a French translation.² At the international Congress of Orientalists in St. Petersburg (the 3rd in 1876) K. Patkanov delivered a lecture, published later in the "Proceedings of the Congress"³ on the pretended expedition of Tiglath Palasar to the banks of the Indus, in which he tried to refute the opinion prevailing at that time, regarding the expeditions of Assyrian kings, through the whole of Iran up to its Eastern borderlands. There exists a lithographical edition of Patkanov's lectures delivered to students (from notes taken by S. Oldenburg): A general review of the history of Persia since the Arab invasion (1883-4) and the Modern History of Persia from the 18th to the 19th century. (1884-5).

Although undertaken with a merely philological object, the publications by the Sanskritologist, Prof. Kossovitch, who also studied the Ancient Iranian languages have very much contributed to the progress of the study of the history of Ancient Iran, viz. his editions and translations of passages from the Avesta⁴ (more particularly from the Gathas) and of Ancient Persian inscriptions. A collection of inscriptions published by him "Inscriptions Palaeo-persicae Achæmenidarum quot hucusque repertae sunt" (1872) lost its value only some twenty years later.⁵ It is nevertheless quoted sometimes even afterwards.⁶ Kossovitch was one of the supporters of the opinion that Zoroaster was a historical personality.⁷

Kossovitch's disciple C. G. Zalemann, who was still more of a philologist and was still less interested in historical research, was un-

1 Ibid., 343 ff.—

2 JA, 6, VII (1866), 101-238.—

3 Proceedings of the 3rd International Congress of Orientalists, I, (1879-80), 33-70.—

4 These fragments are enumerated, for instance, by S. F. Ollenburg in his Biography of Kossovitch (A Biographical Dictionary of the Professors of the University of St. Petersburg, 1869-1894, I, 352 ff.)

5 See the observations by Eder, Meyer "Geschichte des Alterthums", II, 497 (3410) and III, 4 (221).—

6 Severally in the Grundriss, see Index.—

7 e. g. Saratustricae Gatae posteriores tres, 1871, praef., XVIII, where, however, the author merely repeats Spiegel's arguments.—

deniably the greatest Russian Iranist, and one of the most prominent in Europe. Sketches on the pre-Islamic literature of Iran, both Ancient and Middle Persian or Pahlavi, published by him in 1880 in the popular "Universal history of literature" by Korsh and Kirpichnikov,¹ give such a brilliant description of these documents of Iranian cultural life, that they are of importance even for historians. More than 30 years later, B. A. Turaev, the author of the only general history of the Ancient East in Russian which bears the character of independent research² made large use of the first of these sketches.

B. A. Turaev was an Egyptologist and Assyriologist, not an Iranist; therefore, the chapters of his work, devoted to Iran, namely to the Median and Achemenian reigns (no separate chapter was devoted in his work to the Arsacids) and the Sasanian period remained "outside the scope" of his work,³ are somewhat inferior in scientific importance to those devoted to Egypt and Hither Asia. Nevertheless, an acquaintance with Turaev's work is necessary for every Russian student of the history of Ancient Iran. B. Turaev does not mention the article by Academ. A. A. Kunik "On the Influence of the Iranian race on the destinies of Semitic peoples", which is now merely of an historical interest, although in its own time, it had some success.⁴ It is an attempt to apply an ethnological point of view to the investigation of ancient history.⁵

As a kind of supplement to Turaev's "History of the ancient East" may serve the article by V. J. Minorsky "Kalashin, a stele near Topuzave and the oldest monuments near Lake Urmiah",⁶ in which, besides a description of archaeological monuments, visited by the author himself, are also used the archaeological discoveries of Morgan, Herzfeld, Weissbach, and others. Minersky continued thus the tradition of the

1 It is characteristic that this publication does not contain any chapter on the history of Modern Persian literature although it contains chapters on the History of Arabic and Turkish (Ottoman) literature.—

2 B. A. Turaev, *History of the Ancient East*, 2 II, (1914), 213.

3 Ibid, 206.—

4 About its influence on P. T. Lerkh see Biogr. Dict. Prof. Univ. St. Pet. 1869-1894, I, 392.—

5 Journal Min. Publication Instr., part XC. (1856), sect. V. 59-140. The article was originally published in French in 1852 in the Bulletin hist.—phil., t. IX No. 15. "Essai pour éclaircir, un moyen de l'histoire comparée la question de l'influence des Iraniens sur les destinées de la race sémitique." Many additions have been made in its Russian translation (97-140). A mention is made (124 ff.) of the influence this article had on the views of Renan.—

6 Zapiski, XXIV, 145-193.—

earlier members of the Russian foreign office, who availed themselves of being sent on special duty or taking part in some boundary commission in order to pursue historico geographical investigations. The most prominent worker of that type was N. V. Khanikov, who published when still in his early youth (born in 1822) his classical work "A description of the Khanate of Bukhara" (1843) which has not lost its importance even today (Khanikov was in Bukhara in 1841). A result of his journey to Persia (1858-59) was the publication of the following works: "Memoire sur la partie meridionale de l'Asie Centrale (1861) (Khanikov also, like Gobi-neau considered Iran as belonging to Central Asia) and "Memoire sur l'Ethnographie de la Perse" (1866). Both of them were published in Paris and were given a place in the "Recueil de voyages et de memoires publics par la Societe de Geographie" vii & viii. In the early fifties Khanikov published a series of articles on the borderlands¹ of historical Iran, namely Derbent and Baku, chiefly of an epigraphical character; the most important of these articles "On Certain Arab inscriptions in Derbent and Baku" was published in the "Proceedings of Oriental Section of the Russian Archaeological Society".² A more extensive article on the same subject "Memoire sur les inscriptions musulmanes du Caucase" was published by him in 1862 in Paris.³

Thus Khanikov was quite prepared for the task entrusted to him by the Russian geographical society of editing a Russian translation of the "Erdkunde" of K. Ritter with necessary corrections and additions, which was undertaken by the Society from the funds of P. Gohibkov's donation. Only the first part of that edition⁴ saw the light and is at present as obsolete as the German original itself.

1 Cf. the biography of Khamkov compiled by N. T. Vesselovsky for the Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Brockhaus and Efron ; a list of Khanikov's articles published in the 6th series of the JAs. (vs. II-IX, XI-XIII) can be found in the index to that series : YAs, 6, XX (1872), 394 ff. See also Bibliographic analytique des ouvrages de M. F. Brosset, index s. v. "Khanykof" and E. T. Kozubssy. A note-book of the Dagestan district 1895), index.

2 Proceedings etc., II, 168-176.—

3 YA. 5, XX, 57-155.—

4 K. Ritter, Tran, p. I. translated with additions by N. V. Khanykov, St. Peter, 1784.—

Amongst the publications of boundary commissions, the most profitable for research proved to be that of the years 1849-52; the road-journal, compiled by E. Fchirikov, containing a great deal of valuable historico-geographical material, was published in 1875 by the Caucasian section of the supervision of M. Gamazov¹. The reports submitted by members of the same commission on the side of Turkey and Persia², were translated by the same Gamazov. The frontier disagreements between Turkey and Persia were several times renewed and the representatives of Russia had to take part in the solution of those quarrels even in the 20th century up to the beginning of 1914. The historico-geographical results of the two last commissions are related in two "secret" volumes of the Materials for the study of the East, published in 1909 and 1915, by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, under the direction of F. A. Persiani and V. F. Minorsky.

A great deal of information, especially as regards the economical life of Iran, at the present time and in the recent past can be found in different fascicles of the "secret" (which did not in reality contain any government secrets) "Collection of Geographical topographical and statistical materials on Asia", which were published by the Military Educational Committee of the General Staff. Amongst others, the description of the journey of A. Tumansky (1894) from the Caspian Sea to the Hormuz Strait and back formed a part of that collection. It is not possible for us to examine in detail the extensive literature of travel although it is of great interest even for historians, especially as far as descriptions of monuments of the past are concerned. Amongst the most instructive works of that kind is the journey in the East by Perezin (1849-52) (that part of the journey itself as described in the only two volumes that were published took place in 1842.)

The historico-cultural investigations by K. A. Inostrantsev, which

1 The road-journal of the Turko-Persian boundary commission 1849-1852.—

2 *Siyâhat-Nâma-i hudûd*. A description of a journey along the Turko-Persian frontier compiled by Khurshîd Efendi, former secretary of the Turkish commissioner in charge of the demarcation between Turkey and Persia; together with a report by the Persian Commissioner regarding the same journey. Published by the Miñt. Educ. Comm. Gen. Staff, 1877.—

occupy a special place in the history of Russian studies of the East,¹ are devoted partly to ancient Iran, but more especially to Iran of the Sasanian epoch. The most interesting of these works are "Materials from Arab Sources for the cultural history of Sasanian Persia, Omens and Superstitions" (1907);² "Sasanian Studies" (1909); The emigration of the Parsis to India and the Mersalman world in the middle of the 8th c. (1915)³; This short article "A Central Asian term in the Sasanian Code"⁴ provoked an opposition on the part of Prof. A. A. Freymann, in his article "Does the Central Asian" term really exist in the Sasanian Code⁵. A series of articles, devoted to questions of Ancient-Iranian culture, was published by K. A. Inestrantsev in the "Bulletin of the Academy of Sciences" (Izvestia) and in the Zapiski of the Oriental Section⁶ of the Russian Archaeological Society⁷, as well as in the "Journal of the Ministry of Public Instruction."⁸

The annexation to Russia of several cultural districts, which previously either belonged geographically to Iran, proper, or were under Russian cultural influence, offered to Russian research a series of new problems. It was possible to approach these problems, both from the point of view of a specialist in the history of Central Asia and from that of an Iranist. Russian investigators, as early as in the first half of the 19th century, were ahead of Europe, as regards the study of the modern history of Muslim Central Asia, and of the geography of this region; that historical discipline was started in 1824, by the work of Senokovskiy, "Supplément à l'histoire générale des Turcs et des Mongols," As remarked by F. Teufel⁹ it was another Russian Scholar, V. V. Vali-aminov Zernov who was the first to surpass Senokovskiy especially in his work, "Coins of Bokhara and Khiva,"¹⁰ a considerable space in the

1 For it see the "Zapiski", XXII, p. XXV ff.—

2 "Zapiski" XVIII, 113-232.—

3 "Zapiski" XXIII, 133-166.—

4 "Zapiski" XXIV, 29-32.—

5 "Izvestia", 1918, 311 ff.

6 "Izvestia", 1917, 891-895. "The river Iran-Vaedja in Parsi tradition,"

7 About the first articles see index to vol. XX. vol. XXIV, 133-144: "On the history of pre-Islamic culture in Central Asia."

8 More especially: "On the Ancient Iranian Burial customs and Buildings" (March, 1909); On pre-Islamic culture in the oasis of Khiva" (Sebr. 1911).

9 ZDMG, XXXVIII, 235.—

10 Proceedings of the Orient. Sect. of the Russ. Arch. Society, part IV.—

second volume of his 'Researches on the Quasim Kings and Princes'¹ belongs to excursions in the domain of history of Central Asia.

Immediately after the annexation of Turkestan to Russia, P. J. Lerkh, who previous to that, occupied himself chiefly with the language of the Kurds, and who made a journey into Khiva and Bukhara, as early as 1858, began to work in that domain. In the very year, when the Governor-Generalship of Turkestan was formed, Lerkh was charged with an archaeological expedition to the Syr-Darya the description of which appeared up 1870.² Lerkh's articles "Asia", "Bukhara"³ and "Maverannahr" appeared in 1873-74 in the 'Russian Encyclopaedia Dictionary' edited by Berzin, in 1873, just before the campaign of Khiva. Lerkh published an historico-geographical essay on khorezm, which later was partly used⁴ by N. T. Vesselovsky in his outline of historico-geographical information on the Khanate of Khiva from the most ancient times up to the present day (1877). In course of time, Vesselovsky's name was closely connected with all investigations regarding the Samarquand and its environs.⁵

V. A. Zhukovsky's book "Antiquities of the Transcaspian borderland: The Ruins of Ancient Merv"⁶ occupies a popular place not only in Russian, but also in general European literature. Such a detailed monograph had never been written before on any Iranian city, in which both the written information of the past and the monuments of that past, which had been preserved on the surface of the earth were investigated. Zhukovsky intended to publish a similar monograph describing other Persian cities in the Caspian (at present the Turkoman) district, but this intention did not materialize.⁷

1 Ibid, p. X.

2 An archaeological journey to Turkestan in 1867.

3 Besides that article an article on the coins of the pre-Islamic princes of Bukhara—the Bukhar Khudāts was published by Lerkh in the Proceedings of the third (St. Petersburg) Congress of the Orientalists (sur les monnaies des Boukhar-Khāudas. Travaux de la III^{me} session etc., II, 417—430). A more detailed (but unfinished) article by Lerkh on the same subject in the Proceedings of the Orient. Sect. of the Russ. Arch. Soc., p. XVIII (appeared only in 1909, 25 years after Lerkh's death).—

4 Cf. "Zapiski", XXV, 346 ff.—

5 Ibid., 348-352.

6 Materials for the Archaeology of Russia published by the Imperial Archaeological Commission, No. 16, 1894. Additions to that book in "Zapiski", IX, 303-303; XI, 327-333; XIX, 115-138.—

7 Cf. "Zapiski", XXV., 407.—

Zhukovsky was the first specialist in Russia, who studied Muslim Persia,¹ but he was in that domain not so much an historian as an investigator of its language and literature. Of all the branches of popular life, he was more particularly interested in religious beliefs. Along with other Russian scholars,² (especially Tumansky) he took part³ in the studies dealing with the Babi sect (came into existence in 1840), which constitute one of the most brilliant pages in the history of Russian studies of the East: to him also belongs an article dealing with the widely spread sect of the "People of the Truth", on which, in course of time, V. Minorsky⁴ acquired some supplementary new material. Recently, some articles⁵ on the contemporary remnants of the sect of the Ismailis,⁶ so powerful in olden times, were published by certain Russian scholars. Zhukovsky, partly himself, partly through his disciples, also collected materials, regarding the political movements in Persia, which were taking place or being prepared and which ended with the establishment of a constitutional government; papers read by him at the meetings of Oriental Section of the Archaeological Society were not published in their time for political reasons.⁷ Amongst the persons, who worked under Zhukovsky's direction, was also the anonymous author of the two fascicles (the first is composed from accounts given by Persians of Teheran—the second—from the Persian newspapers) of the book "The last political movement in Persia" (1906-07).

A great deal of material, especially on the history and archaeology of Turkestan have appeared in periodicals published in Tashkent, Samarqand and other cities, particularly in the "Proceedings of the Turkestan Circle of Lovers of Archaeology" (founded in 1895) and in the "Guide to the District of Samarqand". In fascicle vii, of the latter organ appeared probably the most interesting work of that category,

1 Ibid, 399.—

2 Cf. for it "the World of Islam" (in Russian); I, (1912), 426 ff. As early as 1865 there appeared a work by A. K. Kazem-Bek "Bāb and the Bābis"; translated next year into French (YAs., 6, VII and VIII).

3 Zapiski, IX, 321-327; XXIV, 33-90.—

4 Ibid, II, 1-24.—

5 Materials for the study of the Persian sect "the People of the Truth" or the *Alī-Ilāhī*, p. I, 1911 (works on Oriental knowledge published by the Lazarev Institute of Oriental Languages, fasc. 33). V Minorsky Notes sur la secte des *Ahlé-Ilāq*. I—11 (published in the "Revue du Monde Musulman" 1920-21).—

6 A. A. Bobrinsky in the Ethnographical Review 1902, No. 2 1-15; A. A. Semenov in the "World of Islam", 1912, 523-561; T. T. Zarubin in the series published by the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography v. V. fasc. I (1918): 97-141; V. A. Ivanov in the Memoirs of the Asiat. Soc. of Bengal, vol. VIII, No. 1 (1922) 1-76.—

7 Zapiski, XXV, 410, 413 ff.—

namely, "Materials for the historical geography of the Vilayat of Samarqand" by V. L. Viatkin (1902).¹ The same scholar took part in the investigations regarding Samarqand undertaken by the "Russian Committee of Central-Asian and Eastern-Asian studies in history, archaeology, linguistics and ethnography," which was founded in 1903. Accounts of its works have been published in the "Izvesta" of that committee.²

The present brief review of Russian works on the history of Iran and of the regions under Iranian culture (i. e. in the first instance Transcaucasia³ and Turkestan) does not pretend to be exhaustive.⁴ Those who are interested in this subject can find a great deal of information scattered throughout the chief organ of Russian Oriental research the "Notes of the Oriental Section of the Russian Archaeological Society" (*Zapiski*). The last decade shows in this domain as in all other domains a certain slackness of productivity in research work, in order to re-establish regular research work, it would be necessary to guarantee the further existence of a special organ devoted to the knowledge of the East in general; moreover, taking into consideration, the wide scope of the problems of Iranistics, it would be extremely desirable that a special organ should be founded for that branch of Oriental studies, an organ still lacking both in Russia and in Western Europe.

1 Cf. my review in the "*Zapiski*" XV, 250-256.—

2 Report on the excavations of the Afrasiyab in 1905. (Proceedings of the Russ. Comm. etc., No. 8, 22-36); Report on the excavations of the observatory of Mirzā Ulugh Bek in 1908 and 1909 (*ibid.*, 2nd series, No. 1, 76-93).—

3 Besides the "*Zapiski*" a great deal of material on the knowledge of the Caucasus in connection with the political and cultural history of Iran can be found in the "Christian East" which was published since 1912 by the Academy of Sciences and in the "Collection of materials for the description of localities and tribes of the Caucasus" published at Tiflis since 1881. In index for the twenty first fascicles of the "Collection" (1881-1894) was compiled by E. T. Kozubsky; to him also belongs "An essay on the bibliography of the Daghestan District" (the Notebook of the Daghestan Dist., 1895) and its supplement, An Essay on the bibliography of the Daghestan Dist. 1896-1902" (the Daghestan Dist., fasc. I) and Materials for the bibliogr. of the Daghestan Dist., (*ibid.* fasc. II). Less satisfactory is the "Jubilee history of the City of Derbent" compiled by E. T. Kozubsky.

4 The author was, of course, unable to speak in detail about his own works and to define their place among other works. A list of his works up to 1913 has been published in the Materials for a biographical dictionary of the ordinary members of the Academy of Sciences, I, 20-24.—

